OHIO
NORTHERN
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Heterick Memorial Library
Ohio Northern University
Ada, Ohio 45810

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_C0-ABP-305

THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS

THIRD PARTY MOVEMENTS SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IOWA

A STUDY IN SOCIAL POLITICS

BY
FRED E. HAYNES

PUBLISHED AT IOWA CITY IOWA IN 1916 BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

COPYRIGHT 1916 BY
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

THE TORCH PRESS
CEDAR RAPIDS
IOWA

H424t

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

This volume is the outgrowth of plans to make available through the publications of The State Historical Society of Iowa the history of political parties in this Commonwealth. Thus the book is related to the series of studies on the history of political parties in Iowa before 1860 made by Dr. Louis Pelzer and published several years ago in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics.*

At the outset Dr. Haynes aimed to confine his studies rather strictly to the history of third parties in Iowa; but as his researches progressed it became evident that the scope of the proposed volume would have to be enlarged, since the movements of minor parties in Iowa were found everywhere to be inextricably bound up with the growth of these parties in other States. Accordingly, the final product of the researches of the author is a history of third party movements in the United States since the Civil War with special reference to Iowa. That such a volume should emanate from this State is both logical and fitting, since Iowa is in the very heart of the region in which the new movements have originated and has furnished the most capable leadership in such movements.

BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT AND EDITOR
THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

7086

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The purpose of the studies recorded in the pages which follow is to present an historical account of third party movements since the Civil War, chiefly from the standpoint and surroundings of Iowa — the State that contributed a presidential candidate for these parties first in 1880 and again in 1892. The selection of movements to be considered has been determined as the study progressed, the connecting link being the fact that they grew out of the economic and social conditions arising from the settlement of the West. From time to time political parties have been compelled to take notice of economic and social problems until to-day their leading policies are social. Successive third party movements have been the instruments in bringing about this result.

The Prohibition and Socialist parties have not been included because of their different origin and development. Primarily a party of one issue, which has been largely a moral one, the Prohibition party has been national in its source and scope: it has had no vital connection with frontier conditions nor with the economic and social life of the West. The Socialist party, on the other hand, has been international in its history and development: it has grown out of the industrial revolution in European countries and its program and policies have

been shaped by conditions there. So far as those conditions have reappeared in the United States, European socialism has grown stronger in this country. There is nothing distinctively Western or American about the Prohibitionists and Socialists, as has been the case with the Anti-Monopoly, the Greenback, and the Populist parties.

The newspapers used are largely those published in Iowa. This has been partly accidental; and at the same time it has been partly intentional, since the purpose was to approach events from the Iowa point of view. Fortunately, it happened that, during the period under consideration, there were in Iowa a number of papers owned and edited by men of unusual strength and intelligence. Among the papers referred to most frequently are *The Iowa State Register* of Des Moines, controlled by the Clarksons, a family of able Republicans; the *Clinton Age*, a Democratic journal that exercised a wide influence under a strong editor, Judge E. H. Thayer; and the *Daily Press* of Iowa City, another Democratic paper for many years the organ of that unique personality, John P. Irish. In addition considerable use has been made of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* and the *Sioux City Journal*, both ably edited Republican papers.

From the newspapers frequent quotations have been introduced so that to a certain extent the story has been told by contemporaries. Such a method, of course, involves the inclusion of extreme and partisan statements

that do not harmonize with the more sober conclusions of history, but they do reproduce for us something of the atmosphere and conditions out of which the more recent progressive movement has grown.

While much reliance has been placed upon the newspapers of the period, other sources of information have been freely used. The *Weller Papers* in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, the *Weaver Papers* in the hands of the family in Des Moines, and the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society have been consulted, since they include the chief manuscript and personal collections of materials covering the period under review, particularly from the standpoint of the history of minor parties.

The thanks of the author are due to Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, the Superintendent and Editor of The State Historical Society of Iowa, without whose constant encouragement and unfailing interest this study would never have been completed. Dr. Dan E. Clark, the Assistant Editor of the Society, has helped at every stage with many valuable suggestions, besides compiling the index; while Miss Helen Otto assisted in the verification of the manuscript.

Fred E. Haynes

The State Historical Society of Iowa
Iowa City Iowa

CONTENTS

Editor's Introduction v
Author's Preface vii
I. Introduction: Third Parties 1

PART I

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

II. The Cincinnati Convention and its Sources . 9
III. The Liberal Republicans in Iowa . . . 22
IV. The Liberal Republicans 1872-1876 . . . 30
V. The Independent Republicans 1880-1884 . . 41

PART II

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT

VI. Third Parties in the West 1873-1876 . . 51
VII. The Anti-Monopoly Party in Iowa 1873-1875 . 67

PART III

THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT

VIII. Labor Reform Agitation 91
IX. Organization of the Greenback Party . . 105
X. Union of Labor Reformers and Greenbackers . 120
XI. The Decline of the Greenback Party . . 131
XII. The Greenback Party in Iowa: The Period of Growth 153
XIII. The Greenback Party in Iowa: The Period of Decline 175
XIV. A Crucial Period — 1880 to 1890 . . . 202

PART IV

THE POPULIST MOVEMENT

XV. Sources of the Populist Party . . . 221
XVI. The Campaign of 1890 and the Formation of the New Party 236
XVII. The Campaigns of 1892 and 1894: The Policy of Permeation 261
XVIII. The Campaign of 1896: The Union of Populists and Democrats 282
XIX. Conditions in Iowa in 1890 and 1891 . . 304
XX. The Iowa Campaigns of 1892 and 1893 . 321
XXI. Industrial Unrest in Iowa 338
XXII. Free Silver and Populist Gains in Iowa . 346
XXIII. The Climax of Populism in Iowa . . 358

PART V

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

XXIV. The Pioneer Progressives: Bryan and La Follette 379
XXV. The Reign of Roosevelt 398
XXVI. The Progressives in the States . . . 408
XXVII. The Split in the Republican Party . . 420
XXVIII. The Progressive Movement in Iowa: Governor Larrabee 435
XXIX. The Progressive Movement in Iowa: Governor Cummins 447
XXX. Social Politics 470
Notes and References 483
Index 537

I

INTRODUCTION: THIRD PARTIES

The usual view of third or minor parties in the United States has ignored their real significance. An individualistic political philosophy has led most people to think of them simply in relation to the great parties. The chief contrast has been a matter of size. The Republican and Democratic parties are coextensive in their organization with the Nation; while third parties are not necessarily organized nationally and do not contest every election. Then again, the utopian character of their demands, as they appear to the practical American, has aroused his sense of humor. His amusement has not always allowed him to see the real nature of the organization beneath the apparent absurdity.

The caricatures of Kansas Populists, as presented by the cartoonists of the metropolitan press, are typical of the way in which third parties have been regarded by the majority of Americans. According to this view a man of good sense connects himself with one of the regular parties in preference to throwing away his vote upon a third party candidate. To such a person, representing as he does the more or less prevalent popular view, a third party is made up largely of reformers, cranks, and discredited leaders of the older parties. All others ought to find a place in one of the two great parties.

A broader view of these minor parties regards them as a means of agitation and education. Especially is this true in the case of an organization such as the Pro-

hibition party, which may not only enable the citizen to perform more efficiently his political duties, but may also educate him to take a higher view of his responsibilities. Moreover, such an opinion concerning third parties develops an attitude which regards them as an expression of social discontent — as a means of indicating objection to the existing economic régime.

The great influences favoring democracy in this country have come from the West: the experiences of the pioneers on the frontier developed individual enterprise and a sense of personal independence. The margin of free land on the frontier provided an outlet for the more adventurous; and so the West has been the seat of democratic ideas. The Greenback, Granger, Free Silver, and Populist parties were the expression of repeated efforts on the part of the democratic citizens of the West to assert themselves against the prevailing characteristics of the industrial and social development since the Civil War. Often shortsighted and visionary in their specific remedies, these leaders of the people were fundamentally sound in their opposition to the growing influence of wealth. Their instincts opened their eyes to features in contemporary developments that were not discovered for many years by the people in the older parts of the country. It is only necessary to read the platforms of the minor organizations to find the origin of many of the planks that are later prominent in the proposals of the Democratic and Republican parties. For the most part these short-lived parties represent forward movements in the development of government of the people, for the people, and by the people, rather than the outbursts of fanatical reformers based upon the imaginings of poorly balanced minds.[1]

Looked at from the social point of view the chief function of third parties has been to bring new issues before the people: they force new policies upon the older parties, and after accomplishing their work they pass away. One reason for their brief lives is undoubtedly due to the fact that reform is a good issue with which to arouse enthusiasm, but after the first impulse to activity is over the enthusiasm declines. A more important reason for the failure of such movements seems to be the "innate political conservatism of the bulk of the American people . . . . [who] prefer, ... to bring forward the new issues and to work out the desired reforms in the established parties rather than to attempt to displace them with new organizations." [2]

Permeation of the old parties by the influence of third party organizations formed to advocate some urgent reform has been the American method of dealing with political and economic reforms. The larger the number of votes cast for a third party the greater the probability that its issue will be adopted by one or both of the great parties rather than that its manifest strength will help it to displace or take a place alongside the established parties. So regularly has this occurred since the Civil War that a recent writer has declared that "it is a truism of political history that minority parties ultimately write the platforms for all parties. In time, the causes which they have the temerity to espouse, are taken up by the established organizations when direct appeal to the latter may have proven fruitless." [3]

Certain minor characteristics of third parties may be noticed at the outset. All of them take a broad view of the federal Constitution. Thus General James B. Weaver declared that "every good Greenbacker spells

the word 'Nation' with the biggest kind of an N."[4] This attitude results from the fact that they are urging policies that the older parties refuse to espouse on constitutional grounds. Back of constitutional limitations there are economic and social forces which are more or less consciously working for recognition. The Constitution must either break or bend. Happily, the genius of Alexander Hamilton and the wisdom of John Marshall developed the doctrine of "implied powers" so that the Granger demand for government regulation of railroads could be satisfied by constitutional interpretation without serious strain to the Constitution.

Again, every third party aspires to become one of the ruling parties, so that, in addition to its chief issue, it extends its platform to include other issues in order to absorb the strength behind such issues. This course is almost always followed, in spite of the fact that there are grave doubts as to whether more is not lost than gained through the danger of factions arising from contending interests. To the leaders of minor parties fusion often seems the open door to real political power; but fusion has probably been more often fatal to such parties than any other cause. Either the larger party will swallow up the smaller, or the natural antagonism that seems to develop between parties most closely related appears and a fierce quarrel ensures, which is equally fatal to the smaller body.

The real value, then, of third parties is that they stir the waters and prevent stagnation. What an agitator is among individuals the third party is in relation to the older party organizations. These parties may go on as a result of the momentum acquired from past services. "Parties can and do exist for a considerable time with-

out any peculiar doctrines; nothing is much more common than to see a party looking for a principle, seeking what we call an 'issue'. Both parties do this in fact, but the minority party is more eager than the one having the advantage of office and authority." If this does not happen, then a new party soon comes into existence. "If the principles they present are looked on with favor by a large portion of the people, these principles will be taken up by one or the other of the older parties or proved by a short time to be undesirable."[5] Balance of power is the lever in the hands of the third party by which its principles may reach accomplishment, although in time its organization almost certainly ceases to exist.

So regularly has this course of events occurred since the Civil War, that it may almost be regarded as a fixed order of American political life. Party machinery has become so complex and requires so much technical skill in its manipulation that there seems less and less chance of its overthrow or seizure by inexperienced workers. It almost seems as though the Republican and Democratic parties must go on indefinitely; and yet we know that they must inevitably adjust themselves to the new social and economic problems that continually become urgent. Social and economic problems are, indeed, the real forces behind the third parties, without which they would be of minor importance but with which they are factors that can not be ignored or neglected. Already they have been seen to exercise such influence upon the two great parties that there is more in common between sections of the different parties than between divisions of the same party. The progressive Republican has much more in common with a progressive Democrat than he has with the conservative members of his own party. Hence the

significance of President Wilson's reference in his inaugural address to all "forward-looking" men.

There are few tasks more difficult than that of tracing the history of minor parties — which must be judged rather by their effects upon other bodies than by direct study of their own activity. How these minor parties have influenced the Republican and Democratic parties is an important but hitherto neglected phase of the history of political parties in the United States. What Bryce has called the "Fatalism of the Multitude"[6] and what Von Holst has described as the "Worship of the Constitution"[7] have blinded the people of the United States in their interpretation of very important and influential phenomena — the manifestation of social and economic forces that are only beginning to be understood.[8]

PART I
THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

II

THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION AND ITS SOURCES

The Liberal Republican movement began in Missouri where, in 1865, a constitutional convention had deprived Southern sympathizers of the franchise and of the privilege of holding office, and where, in 1868, a rigid registration law was passed to carry out these constitutional provisions. As early as 1866 Colonel B. Gratz Brown, a prominent Republican and former United States Senator, had begun an agitation intended ultimately to remove all restrictions from Southerners and also to reform the revenue system and the civil service. Although this movement began in St. Louis, it was soon felt throughout the whole State. Colonel Brown found a powerful ally in Mr. Carl Schurz, who had recently come from Wisconsin and who as the editor of an influential German newspaper and as a popular speaker rendered efficient aid in the new movement.

An attempt during the legislative session of 1870 to pass a new registration law failed, and the Republicans became rapidly divided into two factions known as Liberals and Radicals. At the general State convention, held at Jefferson City late in August, the differences of opinion became so pronounced that two hundred and fifty delegates, led by Mr. Schurz, withdrew and held a separate convention over which he presided and which adopted a platform containing articles urging the re-

moval of all political disabilities and also expressing hostility "to any tariff which fosters one individual or interest at the expense of another". In addition, the convention demanded "a thorough reform of the civil service", opposed all schemes to repudiate any part of the State or national debt, and finally declared its disapproval of "the alienation of our public domain to private corporations, to the exclusion of actual settlers, and that the public lands should be held in trust for the landless and laboring-men of the country."

Colonel Brown was nominated for Governor by the Liberals, while the Radicals renominated the Governor then in office. The Democrats decided to make no nominations of their own, pledging their support to the Liberal candidates. Although the administration at Washington urged the support of the Radicals, and although the Radicals themselves declared in favor of reënfranchisement, the Liberals won at the election in November by more than 40,000 plurality. They also gained control of the State legislature and elected two Congressmen — the Democrats at the same time electing four and the Radicals three.[9]

Early in 1871 the existing dissatisfaction with the Grant administration among Republicans began to take definite form. The first open expression of hostility came from a meeting held at St. Louis. This meeting was followed by other conferences held in Cincinnati during February and March and attended by Republicans of such prominence as ex-Governor Jacob D. Cox and Stanley Matthews of Ohio. At these conferences the formation of a Republican association to promote certain views and policies that should guide the future of the party was completed. The declaration of principles was signed

by about one hundred Republicans. This movement was called a "Republican Reform movement, and was said to reflect a change in sentiment, in regard to some points of Republican legislation, which had become manifest among the people of the West and Northwest." The new faction declared its intention to work within the lines of the Republican party and advocated four distinct principles, namely: general amnesty, civil service reform, specie payments, and a revenue tariff.[10] Moreover, there were representatives and sympathizers with this movement in the Senate at Washington, which made it of importance in national as well as in State politics.[11]

The Missouri split between the Liberals and Radicals continued in 1871 in spite of efforts made to reunite the factions. A meeting called by the State committee of the Liberals assembled at Jefferson City on January 24, 1872, and was described as "one of the largest ever held in the State". It was attended by many persons "from other parts of the country." [12] Speeches were made by local delegates and by the visitors; and resolutions were adopted similar to those already indicated, with the addition of a demand for "the removal of such [tariff] duties as, in addition to the revenue yielded to the Treasury, involve an increase in the price of domestic products", and a disapproval of "the packing of the Supreme Court to relieve rich corporations". The convention closed by issuing a call for a national convention to be held at Cincinnati on the first Wednesday of the ensuing May "to take such action as their convictions of duty and of public exigencies may require." [13]

The invitation from the Missouri Republicans met with response from various parts of the country. A letter signed by twenty Republicans of New York, expressing

"concurrence in the principles lately set forth by the Liberal Republicans of Missouri" and accepting the invitation to meet at Cincinnati, is an example of the way in which the call was received. Among the signatures to this letter was that of Mr. Horace Greeley.[14]

Preparation for such an invitation had been going on since 1868 when "a group of public spirited men, persuaded of the injustice of a protective tariff, formed the American Free Trade League. This included, among others, Alfred Pell, senior, Robert B. Minturn, Carl Schurz, Judge Hoadley, ex-Governor Jacob D. Cox of Ohio, Horace White of the *Chicago Tribune*, David A. Wells, Anson Phelps Stokes, Edward Atkinson, William M. Grosvenor, E. L. Godkin, editor of *The Nation*, ex-Governor Randolph of New Jersey, David Dudley Field, William Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. Tilden, O. B. Frothingham, and Howard Potter. One of the members in San Francisco was a young printer named Henry George, not yet known to fame. William Cullen Bryant was its President, Charles M. Marshall, Treasurer, Mahlon Sands, Secretary, and Henry D. Lloyd, Assistant Secretary. It made every effort to inform public opinion through lectures and literature. It issued a paper called *The Free Trader*, and . . . . a number or two of an illustrated monthly called *The Pictorial Taxpayer*; they published a book by William M. Grosvenor, *Does Protection Protect?* A campaign of public meetings averaging in 1870 more than one every two days extended from Maine to Minnesota."[15]

The *New York Herald*, discussing the political situation in February, estimated that "these Reformers possibly have a hundred thousand votes." Referring to the New Hampshire election which was to occur on March

12th, the same paper stated that that was "the State where the Labor Reform movement is strongest, where they gave the control last year [1871] to the Democracy, and where it is presumed, by the aid of the speeches of Sumner and Schurz, the same result may this year also be secured."[16]

The movement gained strength so rapidly that in April it seemed possible that a ticket nominated by the Liberals and accepted by the Democrats might win. A large mass meeting held in April at Cooper Institute in New York City, indicated its growing importance. *The Nation* declared that "it was the most densely packed meeting which ever met there. All approach within fifty yards of the entrance was next to impossible in the early part of the evening, so great was the crowd in the street. . . . The audience was composed of that sober, thoughtful middle class, equally removed from wealth and poverty, which one has seen in the same room on all great occasions since 1860, such, in short, as was there at the first emancipation meeting in 1862, and at the reform meeting of last spring."[17] Senators Trumbull and Schurz were the speakers.

Charles Francis Adams, Horace Greeley, Lyman Trumbull, Charles Sumner, and David Davis were suggested as candidates for the presidency. Sumner, Trumbull, or Adams might have been supported consistently by the best elements in the movement. Sumner's health forbade his serious consideration; so the choice lay between Trumbull and Adams. Mr. Trumbull would have been a satisfactory choice but Adams was by far the stronger candidate. He was the one most feared by Grant's supporters and the most acceptable to the Democrats. In April, just before his departure for Europe, Mr. Adams

wrote a letter to Mr. David A. Wells in which he expressed a willingness to become a candidate, if the nomination should come to him absolutely without conditions.[18]

Two days before the meeting of the May convention the politicians began to assemble in Cincinnati. The five independent editors, Murat Halstead of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, Horace White of the *Chicago Tribune*, Henry Watterson of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*, and Whitelaw Reid of the *New York Tribune*, were also present. They believed that a scheme was prepared between the delegates from New York and Illinois for the nomination of Mr. Davis who had already been nominated by the Labor Reformers, and they succeeded in heading off this plan; but apparently the influence back of it was later transferred to Horace Greeley.[19]

Other men of importance among the members of the convention and sympathizers with its purposes were Judge John B. Stallo of Ohio, Governor John M. Palmer of Illinois, Governor Austin Blair of Michigan, Mr. James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, Colonel William M. Grosvenor of Missouri, Mr. Frank Bird, Mr. Edward Atkinson, and General William F. Bartlett of Massachusetts, Mr. David A. Wells of Connecticut, Mr. William Cullen Bryant and Mr. Reuben E. Fenton of New York, and Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania.[20]

The first mistake made by the convention was the choice of Mr. Schurz as permanent chairman. He favored Mr. Adams as a candidate for the presidency and so indicated in his speech of acceptance. Moreover, he had shown that he possessed ability for political leadership, and he was needed on the floor. He might have been

able to get the convention to declare for a platform and a candidate that would have met all the necessary requirements of the situation. On the whole, with one exception, the platform was satisfactory. The exception was the reference of the tariff question "to the people in their congressional districts and to the decision of Congress". This action was the price paid for the support of Mr. Greeley and the *New York Tribune*. The price paid was altogether too high, even as a matter of policy. Seen from the distance of the years it is clear that the most promising opportunity for the reduction of the tariff for a generation was lost.[21]

The greatest error of the convention was the nomination of Mr. Horace Greeley. One observer described it as "the humorous nomination of the ironical convention which met at Cincinnati in May" and then went on to say that it "has been received by the nation with the contrasted feelings usually awakened in mixed audiences by a joke; the great mass have no real pleasure in it; many whose opinions or prejudices have been trifled with resent it; a few like it; but at first everybody laughs."[22] A tariff reform convention had nominated the most extreme protectionist living. A civil service reform convention had nominated a man less friendly to its demand than General Grant himself. Only in regard to the South was Mr. Greeley in sympathy with the Liberals, and even here his agreement was not complete. Of the nomination Mr. Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*, who had been for Adams and later voted for Greeley, declared in a private letter soon after the close of the convention that Greeley had "magnificent qualities and has done more for political reform and social reform, Republican advancement and Democratic elevation than any man living.

Then he has more first-class weaknesses than any man, too." General Grant finally received the support of *The Nation* and the *New York Evening Post.* Except the Brown clique, whose leader had been given the vice presidential nomination, the original promoters of the movement were bitterly disappointed.[23]

In his *Life of Lyman Trumbull,* Horace White of the *Chicago Tribune* says concerning the convention that "the streets of Cincinnati had never beheld a more orderly, single-minded, public-spirited crowd. At least four fifths had come together at their own expense for no other purpose than the general good. There was, however, a small minority of office-seekers among them. The movement in its inception was altogether free from that class, but when it began to assume formidable proportions and seemed not unlikely to sweep the country, it attracted a certain number of professional politicians, including a few estrays from the South.

"The office-seeking fraternity were mostly supporters of Davis, whose appearance as a candidate for the presidency was extremely offensive to the original promoters of the movement. As a judge of the Supreme Court his incursion into the field of politics, unheralded, but not unprecedented, was an indecorum. Moreover, his supporters had not been early movers in the ranks of reform, and their sincerity was doubted. They were extremely active, however, after the movement had gained headway . . . . Davis's chances were early demolished by the editorial fraternity, who, at a dinner at Murat Halstead's house, resolved that they would not support him if nominated, and caused that fact to be made known." [24]

Mr. White gives an interesting account of the "Gratz

Brown trick'' by which Mr. Greeley was made the candidate in place of Mr. Adams. He thinks that this was done out of jealousy of Mr. Schurz's power in Missouri. His opponents ''feared he would become omnipotent there, dominating both parties, if Adams should be elected President; and that the only way to head him off was to beat Adams. They chose Greeley for this purpose, not because they had any bargain with, or fondness for, him, but because he was the next strongest man in the convention.'' [25]

Mr. Schurz's account of the ''Gratz Brown trick'' is given in a letter to Mr. Greeley dated at Washington on May 6, 1872. In this communication he expresses the deepest disappointment at the results of the convention. He declares his belief in Mr. Greeley's honesty, but says that ''nobody can read the proceedings of the convention . . . . without concluding that . . . . the first fruit of the great reform . . . . was a successful piece of political huckstering and that the whole movement had been captured by politicians of the old stamp.'' He refers to both Mr. Blair and Mr. Brown by name.[26]

Mr. White believes ''that either Adams or Trumbull could have been elected if nominated at Cincinnati.'' He thinks ''also that Adams was the stronger of the two, because he had incurred no personal ill-will during the twelve years of war and Reconstruction and because the minds of the Democratic leaders who had encouraged the Liberal movement were eagerly expecting him . . . . The Germans also were enthusiastic for Adams. . . . He was also the man of whom the Republican leaders had the gravest fears as an opposing candidate.'' [27]

A meeting composed of persons dissatisfied with the

nomination was held in New York on May 30th. The speakers were Professor Perry of Williams College, Wm. Cullen Bryant, David A. Wells, Edward Atkinson, Simon Sterne, and Henry D. Lloyd. The last named speaker described how the nomination of Mr. Greeley had been brought about by a "spontaneous rally which had been carefully planned the night before. The hall was filled with a mechanical, preordained, stentorious bellowing. Hoary-headed, hard-eyed politicians who had not in twenty years felt a noble impulse, mounted their chairs, and with faces suffused with a seraphic fervour blistered their throats hurraying for the great and good Horace Greeley. The noise bred a panic. A furore, artificial at first, became real and ended in a stampede, which resulted in the nomination of Mr. Greeley".[28]

As a result on June 20th an invitation was issued for a conference of "gentlemen who are opposed to the present Administration and its continuance in office, and deem it necessary that all the elements of the opposition should be united for a common effort". The invitation was signed by Schurz, Cox, Bryant, Wells, and others, and was sent to two hundred of the original advocates of the Cincinnati meeting. At the appointed time "over one hundred men of affairs gathered in the Fifth Avenue Hotel rooms. . . . The meeting was called to order by ex-Governor Randolph; Jacob D. Cox was elected President, William Cullen Bryant and General John A. Dix Vice-Presidents, and Lloyd Secretary. A resolution was passed that the Chair proceed to a call of the States and that each delegate, under seal of confidence not to report the proceedings, express his individual opinion as to the future course of the Grant opposition. When New York was called, a stormy debate ensued, and Carl Schurz,

emerging from his period of indecision and silence, made a two hours' speech said to be one of the finest he ever delivered. He maintained that it was too late for a third ticket, that in order to defeat the corruption in power, the best policy was to unite in supporting Greeley, whose election by an overwhelming majority he predicted. . . . This speech swept the conference before it. Indignation over the Cincinnati fiasco disappeared like morning mist, and by 1 A. M. the second bolting convention adjourned sine die."

"There still remained, however, out of the Cincinnati thousands a handfull of men who were determined not to compromise their principles . . . . and before separating [they] arranged to meet again. There were only twenty-five in all who assembled the next morning." Mr. Lloyd was there pleading for "an immediate nomination" as a duty to the people. A platform was adopted and William S. Groesbeck of Ohio and Frederick Law Olmsted of New York were nominated as candidates.[29]

Referring to this action *The Nation* declared that the platform was "the most respectable document of the kind we have seen for many years, and bears all the marks of having been drawn by honest men, and can be read from first to last without laughter." During the excitement of the campaign, however, this ticket was entirely forgotten.[30]

In due time the Democratic convention met and accepted the platform and candidates of the Liberals. For a time the northern Democrats were opposed to the acceptance of Mr. Greeley; but as it became plain that no other Liberal Republican candidate would be substituted and that the only possible hope of defeating Grant lay in the concentration of the opposition upon a single candi-

date they yielded. The Southern Democrats accepted Mr. Greeley more willingly, partly because their situation was so hopeless that they were willing to grasp at anything that promised relief.[31] A movement for a bolt by "straight-out" Democrats failed through lack of a leader to make much impression. A convention at Louisville in September nominated Charles O'Conor for President and John Quincy Adams for Vice President — but both declined to run.[32] Nevertheless 29,489 votes were cast for O'Conor, who had been nominated by the Labor Reformers after the refusal of Davis and Parker to accept the nomination made at their convention which was held at Columbus in February, 1872.[33]

For a time in September and early in October there seemed to be a possibility of Mr. Greeley's election. In September he made a tour through Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana and was greeted by great crowds everywhere. His great reputation was undoubtedly responsible for these demonstrations of interest. But the inevitable result came in November, when Grant secured the electoral vote of all but six or seven States [34] and a popular majority of 750,000. This result ought to have been foreseen by everybody.

Commenting upon the election *The Atlantic Monthly*, in its survey of current politics, observed that "the Presidential election is over at last, and the nation breathes freer in the security of its delivery from Mr. Greeley and his galvanized democracy. For this it may reasonably be grateful to General Grant who has a second time saved the Union — not now from rebellion and dissolution, as before, but from an uprising of office-seekers under the lead of an erratic, unstable, and ill-advised philanthropist — from confusion and corruption and absurdity and bab-

ble and ink — shed, without end." The same writer described the election of Grant as "the choice of the lesser evil."[35] Again, the same magazine declared that "the Cincinnati movement ended in disaster, last summer, but it had one good result, which all those who avow an interest in reform ought to notice: it proved the existence of a small class of sincere reformers, who are not only capable of making a bold attack on the party in power, but who are also ready, in the interest of reform, to turn on their own *soidisant* fellows and ruin them; who are not interested in the reform movement because it seems to afford an avenue to place and profit, but because it is a real reform movement; and who leave it the moment it ceases to be true to the object of its existence."[36]

III

LIBERAL REPUBLICANS IN IOWA

Iowa as a State bordering upon Missouri, where the Liberal Republican movement originated, was strongly influenced by the appearance of the new party. As early as July, 1871, references are made to "Reform Conventions" in Iowa newspapers. One such meeting held in Mahaska County is described contemptuously as "composed of sorehead Republicans and ambitious Democrats".[37] *The Clinton Age*, a Democratic paper, in diagnosing the political situation, observed that the "Democrats are being beat at every election because some men are too obstinate to abandon an idea and others are too wise to forget anything. If the democracy could muster up courage enough to go into the next presidential contest on the live questions of the day — such as the President's encroachments upon individual rights, the attempted destruction by the party in power of the personal freedom of the people of a dozen states, the corruption, profligacy and wholesale swindling of government officials — there might be a chance for success. But we have very little hope of seeing so much sense in the democratic party. The everlasting negro question must be fought over again and again. . . . We don't believe it makes much difference what man the democracy nominates for the presidency . . . . if the platform should be made up wholly of a formal indictment against the present administration for the wrongful acts committed — such a man could be elected." [38]

Another Democratic leader declared about the same time that it would be folly to contend under the old name in 1872. The Democrats, he thought, should make no nominations but "disband and endeavor to divide the Republican party", and support one of the Republican factions.[39] To this suggestion *The Clinton Age* replied that the Democratic party "must be kept intact . . . . we are not particular about the precise name . . . . we say let the opposition to Grant's administration unite on a platform which shall set forth the principles of revenue reform, general amnesty, civil service reform, reduced tariff . . . . and there may be a show for success." [40]

Early in 1872 a conservative Republican paper described a scheme of the "Western railroad interests, identified with the great lines from Chicago through Iowa, to Omaha, and probably the Union Pacific interest, also," to bring forward "*one of their attorneys* as a Presidential candidate" against Grant in the Republican convention. After remarking that the statements quoted from a New York paper (the *Herald*) were "substantially correct", the writer went on to say that "we of the West have understood for a long time past" the existence of railroad influences in our national and local politics. "We point out this new development of railroad insolence, and we speak of it plainly, that it may be known and thwarted by the people. This interest has made our judges, has given us a Senator [Mr. Allison] and now seeks to foist upon the people a President." [41]

In February, 1872, *The Clinton Age* referred to the "recent convention of liberal Republicans held in Jefferson City, Missouri" as a meeting of "more than a mere local significance" and printed the resolutions adopted.[42]

In April a call was issued for a convention at Davenport on the 23rd of April to appoint delegates to the national convention to be held at Cincinnati in May. The call was addressed to the "friends of Union, Loyalty, and Good Government in Iowa." Davenport rather than Des Moines was selected as a more convenient meeting place for the majority of the people attending. Among the signers of the call were Mr. Fitz H. Warren, Mr. J. B. Grinnell, and Mr. D. C. Cloud.[43]

The convention met on Tuesday, April 23rd, was called to order by General Warren, and Mr. Cloud of Muscatine was made temporary chairman. Governor Brown of Missouri, "the originator of the liberal move", was announced as present by Mr. Grinnell, "when three hearty cheers were given." Permanent organization was completed with General Warren of Burlington as chairman. Mr. Grinnell was made chairman of a committee to select "delegates who would go to Cincinnati without regard to number". He presented a list of one hundred and forty-six names. The same committee recommended a State committee of fourteen members. Ex-Senator Dixon of Wapello County presented a platform which expressed opposition to General Grant, but declared a willingness to support any one "nominated upon a platform of honesty, economy, universal amnesty, thorough, genuine reform and the one term principle for the president." When the business had been completed, the convention listened to addresses by Mr. Jacob Butler, Mr. C. F. Davis, Judge David Rorer, Governor Brown, and Mr. J. B. Grinnell. A Republican editor, commenting upon the convention, remarked that General Warren and Judge Rorer were leaders of the Liberal Republicans in Des Moines County and that they ranked with Mr. Grin-

nell and Mr. Butler [44] as leaders in the State. Incidentally it was stated that it was "doubtful if either of them had voted a Republican ticket in the last six years." [45]

Governor Brown was described by a friend as "a man of deep learning, close thought and ardent convictions, and possessed of ample wealth and unflagging public spirit. . . . A good new man is the best departure for the Democratic party. . . . Brown represents a Western State of resources, population and dimensions which has never been honored in the selection of a Presidential candidate by either party. . . . His appearance is not very handsome, but it is characteristic and quaint — a little knotty, red-headed man, equal parts pluck and genius, whom the people can see and huzza for." [46]

Naturally the nomination of Mr. Greeley was the subject of discussion early in May. The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* (Republican) said that the "Democrats are quite divided on the question of supporting Greeley. Had Davis been nominated they would have taken him at once. They would have made a few wry faces at Adams or Trumbull, but no very serious objection. But 'ould Greeley' — well, it is pretty rough on them". [47] The same paper a week later stated that Mr. John P. Irish, chairman of the Democratic State Convention, repudiated the nomination of Mr. Greeley and had called upon the Democrats to put a full ticket in the field. "Heretofore, Irish has led the young Democrats and pronounced in favor of a liberal policy, as opposed to the old Bourbons represented by Claggett, Mason and others. The order is now reversed. The Bourbons are out for Greeley and the 'Liberals', while the young Democracy want a hard shell ticket." [48]

There is some evidence that Judge David Davis of Illinois was the most popular western candidate for President in 1872 among those classes of people who were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the existing situation in politics. He received nearly one hundred votes in the Liberal Republican Convention, and was nominated for President by the Labor Reform party at Columbus, Ohio, in February. Commenting upon this nomination *The Clinton Age* concluded that it was the work of the Liberal Republicans, and declared that if that were true and the Liberal Republican Convention endorsed it, probably the Democrats would hesitate to make a nomination of their own.[49]

Above it was pointed out that Judge Davis would have been accepted willingly by Iowa Democrats.[50] The same paper (the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*) described the Democratic program as intending "to unite all the Democracy, all the Labor Reformers, and all the Republican 'sore heads' on one ticket." Judge Davis was declared to be the first choice of such a coalition.[51] Mr. Rhodes describes him as having "an itching for the presidency" and allowing "himself to be nominated by the Labour Reformers, upon a platform which made even his silent consent a grave indiscretion." [52] A contemporary spoke of him as "an able judge and a worthy man with a strong taste for active politics. . . . He belonged to a highly respectable class of politicians known as Independents. . . . It was said of him ", later in the United States Senate, "no doubt with some jocose exaggeration . . . . that if he voted twice in succession with the same party, he appeared to be alarmed lest he should take on the character of a partisan, and made haste to

restore the healthful balance of his mind and of his political action, by voting next time with the other side. In justice to him, it should be remembered that the position of independency in politics was at that time less understood, had been less practiced, and hence was more difficult of graceful maintenance than it now is.'' [53]

The character of the Liberal Republican movement in Iowa is shown in a letter sent from the headquarters of the party at Davenport in August, 1872. A list of names of ''notable accessions to the reform ranks'' is given with the following descriptions: ''The venerable Senator from Scott County, who has been a devoted Republican since the organization of the party; . . . . a prominent member of the bar, recently mayor of the city [Davenport]; . . . . a prominent and influential Republican, the probable Liberal nominee for Congress in the Vth District; . . . . a Grant elector in 1868; . . . . one of the most active and influential Republicans in the IId District; . . . . a brilliant speaker and an old-time Republican; . . . . a Republican of high standing and large influence, one of the most effective speakers in the State; . . . . a German of liberal culture and great influence; . . . . a gallant soldier and an eloquent speaker.'' The letter concludes with the statement that ''some leading Republican in every county in the State'' has joined the movement and the ''conditions here are most cheering and satisfactory''.[54]

The election results in 1872 in Iowa indicate the attitude of the people towards the distinctive movement of the year and also the way in which the Grant administration was regarded.

1868		1872		1876	
Grant	120,399	Grant	131,566	Hayes	171,326
Seymour	74,040	Greeley	71,179	Tilden	112,121
		Straight Democrat	2,221	Cooper	9,431
				Prohibition	99
Total	194,439		204,966		292,977
Grant increase		11,167			
Total increase		10,527			
Democratic decrease		640	including Straight Democratic		
Democratic decrease		2,861	excluding Straight Democratic		

(Governor) 1871		(Sec'y of State) 1872	
Republican	109,288	Republican	132,719
Democratic	68,199	Liberal	74,447
Scattering	351	Straight Democrat	1,330
		Scattering	337
Total	177,778		208,873
Republican increase	23,431		
Total increase	31,095		
Democratic increase including Straight Democratic			7,578
Democratic increase excluding Straight Democratic			6,248

Mr. B. F. Gue in his *History of Iowa* estimates that "the number of Republicans in Iowa who voted for Greeley could not have been more than three hundred and ninety-seven as the vote for Grant lacked but seven hundred and ninety-three of being as large as that for Young, Republican candidate for Secretary of State; while about 2,166 Democrats withheld their votes from Greeley." [55] Using the figures in the *Iowa Official Register* for 1913-1914,[56] which differ from those given by Mr. Gue — crediting Grant with 333 more and Greeley with 60 more — it would appear that 533 Republicans voted for Greeley — not a very large number in a total of

204,966 votes. It is clear that Grant ran slightly behind the State ticket; while at the same time his gain as compared with the vote for him in 1868 was greater than the gain in the total vote for President. The vote for Greeley showed a decrease of 2,861 over that for Seymour in 1868. Including the vote for the straight Democratic candidate, the decrease was only 640. Greeley ran 3,268 votes behind the State ticket. Including the straight Democratic vote there was an increase of 7,578 votes for the Democratic State candidates as compared with the vote for State officers in 1871.

IV

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICANS
1872-1876

The usual accounts describe the Liberal Republican movement as begun, developed, and completed in 1872. As a matter of fact it began in Missouri much earlier, dating back almost to the close of the Civil War. Even as a national movement it was longer in preparation than the ordinary descriptions suggest. By the election of 1870 the Republicans lost the two-thirds majority that they had had since the first contest with President Johnson in 1866. In 1871 the pressure of opposition to the Southern policy of the Republicans became strong enough to lead President Grant in his annual message to suggest the removal of political disabilities. Senator Carl Schurz in 1871 was known as a "liberal" Republican, and he was already urging the policies which were to make him, in the following year, the intellectual leader of the new movement.[57]

Again, the failure of Mr. Greeley's candidacy is supposed to have ended the Liberal influence. Such, however, is not the case. In 1873 a Democratic county convention in Ohio declared that "both political parties have demonstrated that they are powerless to check or control the existing tendency toward the utter demoralization of the politics of the country", and invited the people without regard to former political relations to meet at Columbus in mass convention to take such action as the exigen-

cies of the time demanded. As a result a convention, which was participated in by Democrats and Liberals, met and nominated a State ticket made up of five Democrats and three Liberals. At the ensuing election 10,109 votes were cast for this ticket.[58]

In 1874 it was said in an account of the Democratic State Convention of Connecticut that "a considerable proportion of the delegates were Liberal Republicans who made common cause with the Democrats." The election resulted in the success of the nominee of this convention.[59] Moreover, the next year the Democratic Liberal Convention met and renominated the same candidates unanimously and "with prolonged applause". They were again successful.[60]

In Massachusetts in 1874 General N. P. Banks, formerly a Republican and in 1872 a Liberal, ran as an independent candidate for Congress, being accepted also by the Democrats. In another district, as a protest against caucus methods, President Julius H. Seelye of Amherst College was taken up by some of the Republicans as a candidate without a formal nomination. Both of these candidates were elected — General Banks by a wide margin over his competitor. It was in this same year that the Democrats elected their first Governor since the Civil War; while the congressional delegation from the State was made up of five Republicans, four Democrats, and the two Independents (Banks and Seelye).[61]

The next year (1875) a New National Union party was organized in Boston with General Banks as one of its leaders; but with the exception of the issue of an address to the people this party developed little strength. At the same time certain men who had been prominent in the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 issued a statement

announcing their formal union with the Democrats, who had nominated for Lieutenant Governor, General W. F. Bartlett, a Liberal Republican, "by acclamation and with cheers and plaudits." He declined the nomination, but declared that if there should ever be need of such a sacrifice he would be ready to make it, "whether it be with the Democratic party or the Republican party (or, better still, the honest half of both), so it shall be the party which the near future imperatively calls for to lead the way of true reform, pure administration, and intelligent progress; a party which shall neither be obliged to content itself with the recital of its past achievements nor atone for its past mistakes." [62]

In New York in 1874 the Liberal Republicans held two State conventions — 228 delegates attending the first meeting. The expediency of endorsing the Democratic ticket was earnestly discussed; but finally it was decided to declare in favor of neither the Republican nor the Democratic nominees and to recommend "the Liberal Republicans and other independent electors of the State that they support for office only men of approved honesty, and who most fitly represent the principles enunciated at the organization of the party at Cincinnati, and subsequently reaffirmed at State Conventions." [63] The next year the Liberal Republicans followed a similar course, concluding their resolutions with the statement that "intending to maintain the principles they have now repeatedly and hitherto uniformly proposed, [they] congratulate the country upon the general favor to which they have attained, and believing that, if not entirely, yet they are substantially recognized by both the Democratic and Republican parties of the State, do not think it necessary or useful to nominate a State ticket. They do there-

fore recommend to the Liberal and independent voters of the State" the best candidates already nominated who will coöperate with Governor Tilden "in his work of administrative reform." [64]

The correspondence of Carl Schurz throws considerable light on the activities of the independents during 1875 and 1876. In a letter dated April 16, 1875, and addressed to Henry Armitt Brown, a Philadelphia orator and reformer, he states that "the purpose is to assemble a number of men whose standing in the country is such that their utterances will find attention and respect. It is not important that there should be a great many, but that those present should be, in the truest sense of the term, respectable and respected. The genus 'politician,' in the common acceptation of the term, should therefore be excluded." [65]

Again, in a letter to Mr. W. M. Grosvenor, written from Switzerland and dated July 16, 1875, Mr. Schurz declares that "what we ought to have, in my opinion, is a meeting of notables — men whose names will be of weight with the country and who can be depended upon to agree to an independent course. Such a meeting ought to be held some time in January or February. . . . To make the necessary preparations for such a meeting, so that it can be called without danger of failure at the appropriate time, should, in my opinion, be the principal object of the committee of correspondence, and I am sure, with your knowledge of men and things, you can accomplish it." [66]

In a letter to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., also written from Switzerland and dated July 22, he says that "all that is needed is some money to keep Grosvenor at work. I have written about this to Cyrus W. Field, but

you ought to be able to raise some at Boston. . . . If money enough is raised to pay Grosvenor's way this summer and next winter, we shall, I doubt not, have the necessary machinery of organization in good season." [67] In another letter to Mr. Adams, addressed from Switzerland and dated August 18, 1875, Mr. Schurz refers to letters received from Halstead, Nordhoff, Field, and Lodge.[68]

To Mr. Samuel Bowles he wrote a letter addressed from New York and dated January 4, 1876, in which he asks: "Is it not about time you should set out on your Southern tour? You will have to look up there men fit to coöperate with us. I have written letters to my friends in the West and think we shall have from that quarter what we desire. But in the South my acquaintance is limited and it will be for you to make the necessary discoveries. Here in New York we can have what we want. Strong efforts are made here for Blaine and Bristow. Our friend Phelps has again succumbed under the 'personal magnetism' of the former, and Nordhoff also . . . . The Bristow movement is so right in principle that it deserves encouragement, and I think a large number of the men engaged in it will finally act with us, and we have this with them in common, that Bristow is our second choice anyhow, and right heartily too." [69]

Another letter to Mr. Samuel Bowles, dated January 16, 1876, describes Schurz as "corresponding with a number of my friends in the West and I find the idea of a meeting to be called 'to devise measures to prevent the campaign of the Centennial year from becoming a mere scramble of politicians for the spoils' . . . . is taking very well. . . . I am confident now we can have a

respectable meeting as soon as it is time to issue the invitations.

"I agree with you in thinking that circumstances are growing more and more propitious. It seems almost as if Blaine had virtually killed himself as a candidate, as I always thought he would. He may seemingly revive, but I am sure he will die of too much smartness at last . . . . I have drawn up an address which I want to submit to you as soon as it is finished. The Republican National Committee has put off the Convention later than I expected, but it is well. We have now plenty of time for preparatory work, and of all places in the country Cincinnati is the one where we can organize the strongest pressure. . . . Do you know Governor Chamberlain of South Carolina? Can you get into correspondence with him? We ought to have him with us.

"We, i.e., you and I, ought to meet about a fortnight from to-morrow and establish thorough concert of action. I shall by that time have elaborated a complete plan of operations and ought to have your judgment upon it." [70]

A letter to Mr. Bowles, dated March 7th, contains "a draft of an invitation to a conference which has already been submitted for signature to Mr. William Cullen Bryant, President Woolsey, Governor Bullock, and Governor Koerner of Illinois." Mr. Schurz desires the signature of Governor Newton Booth of California; but not knowing his position he asks Mr. Bowles, "his most intimate friend", to request Booth's signature. "I would then sign the paper myself and address it with those signatures to about 200 or 300 persons. Lodge and Brooks Adams are here, helping me. . . . They want to see you concerning the list of men to be invited from New England. The intention is to hold the Conference

at Cincinnati on April 27th, but that point is open and I have requested the opinion of the gentlemen who are to sign the invitation.'' [71]

In a letter to L. A. Sherman, editor of *The Times*, at Port Huron, Michigan, replying to a letter from that gentleman, Mr. Schurz writes under date of April 15th that he is ''happy to learn that the movement in favor of a strong reform candidate like Mr. Bristow is growing in favor with the Republicans of Michigan. . . . By the time this reaches you, you will have seen in the papers the full text of an invitation to a Conference to be held in the City of New York''.[72]

In a letter to Francis A. Walker of April 17th, Mr. Schurz declares that he has ''very favorable reports from the West. Public sentiment is rapidly turning in our favor. Some time ago I could not think of a single man in Indiana who might be invited; but a few days ago a prominent Republican of that State called upon me and gave me a list of outspoken reformers that astonished me.'' [73]

The presidential election of 1876 gave the Liberal Republicans another chance to exert an influence upon a national scale. Early in the year the national committee sent out an inquiry as to the advisability of calling a national convention. Ex-Senator J. W. Tipton of Nebraska, replying to one of these requests, declared that he expected to support the Democratic candidates, and he ended with the statement that ''if you conclude to call a convention please drop my name from the committee.'' [74] In April a circular was sent out from New York by a committee made up of William Cullen Bryant of New York, Theodore Woolsey of Connecticut, Alexander G. Bullock of Massachusetts, Horace White of Illinois,

and Carl Schurz of Missouri. In this circular reference was made to "the wide-spread corruption in our public service . . . . the uncertainty of the public mind, and of party counsels, as to grave economical questions involving in a great measure the honor of the Government, the morality of our business life, and the general well-being of the people [which] . . . . render it most desirable that no effort should be spared to secure to the popular desire for genuine reform a decisive influence in the impending national election".

An invitation was therefore extended for "a free conference to consider what may be done to prevent the National Election of the Centennial year from becoming a mere choice of evils". At the conference held in New York City, on May 15th and known as the "Fifth Avenue Conference", persons were present from five northeastern States, three middle States, six western States, and three southern States. Schurz was the chairman of a committee which reported an address to the American people in which the chief emphasis was placed upon civil service reform.[75]

The opinion of many Liberal Republicans was expressed by Mr. F. W. Bird of Massachusetts in a reply to the invitation to the New York conference. He described three courses that might be followed: (1) to form a third party; (2) to reform the Republican party from within; and (3) to work with the Democrats. His comments upon these different possibilities were that since "the melancholy failure of 1872" the first plan was well nigh hopeless; as to the second, there was "but one way of salvation for the Republican party, and that is through the purgation of defeat"; and as to the third, he believed that defeat had purified the Democrats as

power had corrupted the Republicans. "I want to vote", he writes, "for a candidate who has not only shown the courage to fight the thieves of his own party, but who will not be elected and surrounded by the same gang of thieves and their apologies." [76]

In a letter to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., dated July 9, 1876, Mr. Schurz expresses his opinion of the nominations. "The result of the Cincinnati Convention", he says, "appeared at first as the triumph of a respectable compromise candidate; the result of the St. Louis Convention as the triumph of a great name with the attachment of an ambiguous platform and the most objectionable man imaginable as a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. Neither side satisfactory and yet a third movement out of the question." Later, Mr. Schurz had corresponded and had had two interviews with Mr. Hayes; and he declares that "unless I am very much mistaken, the Cincinnati Convention has nominated our man without knowing it. . . . Let me confess that I never entertained as high an opinion of Mr. Tilden as a reformer as you did. He has been too much of a demagogue and is too much of a wirepuller and machine politician now to be depended upon as a man of principle.

"We had a meeting of the executive committee of the conference on June 30th. It was deemed best, as the situation was then still undefined . . . . not to do anything with regard to the candidates. Indeed, I do not see the necessity of *united* action on the part of the independents. It may truly be said that the choice of positive evils is avoided, and a certain measure of reform is promised on either side. . . . We did, however, resolve to invite all those who signed our address,

about 1,500, to join in the organization of a National Civil Service Reform League".[77]

In a letter to Mr. Oswald Ottendorfer, editor of the *New York Staats-Zeitung*, dated July 22, 1876, Mr. Schurz justifies his preference for Mr. Hayes as follows: "Some persons", he writes, "have found a cheap amusement in holding up before those men who took part in the May Conference in New York, and are now supporting Mr. Hayes, the address issued by the Conference, and pointing out the inconsistency of their action. Let us look at this matter more closely. The men who arranged the Conference and carried it through had for their first object a true civil service reform and a sound position on the financial question. They had all sorts of candidates in mind, but their candidates represented certain principles, and were not pressed simply on their own account. They wanted to promote the nomination of proper men in order to give their prime object the greatest possible push forward; but they had no notion of swearing unqualified fidelity to such men, whether or no their candidacy, by its attending conditions, made doubtful the attainment of the great end in view. Whoever thinks that the Conference was devoted to the service of particular persons has entirely mistaken its spirit."[78]

A gathering of New York State Liberal Republicans showed a wide variation of opinion as to the course to be followed in the election. On the same day the regular convention, meeting as the Republican State gathering, endorsed the nominees and platform of both the national and State conventions of that party, while several contesting delegations, not admitted to the regular sessions, expressed their confidence in Governor Tilden and rec-

ommended that "all true Liberals" support the Democratic candidates "as the best means of lifting the country out of the ruin which threatens it." [79] In Connecticut the Liberals continued their alliance with the Democrats, which had proved so successful for several years.[80]

V

THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS
1880-1884

The campaign of 1876 seems to have been the last in which in any organized way the Liberal Republicans attempted to influence political affairs. The nomination of two men of the character and reputation of Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden, together with the approaching retirement of General Grant, removed the most urgent objects of the opposition of the Liberals; while the passing of Reconstruction as the chief issue between the parties gave opportunity for the consideration of other pressing problems already too long pushed to one side during the aftermath of war. The policy of Mr. Hayes toward the South, unpopular as it was with the partisan Republicans, was welcomed by the Liberals as the one for which they had been working for a number of years.

It is interesting to notice that at this time there were in the Cabinet four men who had supported Mr. Greeley in 1872 — William M. Evarts, the Secretary of State, who had also supported Mr. Tilden for Governor in 1874; Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior; Charles Devens, the Attorney General, who had once been a candidate for Congress on a Democratic ticket; and David M. Key, the Postmaster General, who was a Southern Democrat.[81] A Republican paper in Iowa declared that "the men who have been chosen to represent the Liberal Republican or Greeley element [in the Cabinet] are the

strongest, the most radical, and the most obnoxious of that faction. . . . We admit the ability and superior ability of every man in the list. We admit the deservingness and trustworthiness as men, of all of them. . . . We only regret that the real Republican party was not given the preponderance instead of the liberal Republican element."[82]

In 1880 the threat of a third term for General Grant, worked up by the Republican leaders like Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York and Senator Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, aroused once more the opposition of Independent Republicans.

In a letter to George William Curtis in December, 1879, Mr. Schurz urged action to prevent Grant's nomination in 1880. He believed that "all that is necessary now is that those who are earnestly opposed to the third term should openly say so. You strike the nail on the head in saying that the real danger consists in 'the habituation of the popular mind to personal government' . . . . Now let it be known that the Independent Republican element in New York is of the same mind, — let this become known through a strong and unmistakable demonstration, and the back of the Grant movement will be broken. . . . Is the organization of the 'scratchers' in any manner active? They should not hesitate now to step forward and make known their minds." [83]

Again, in a letter to Mr. Lodge, dated January 3, 1880, Mr. Schurz declares that "as to the Grant business, one thing seems to me necessary to kill it with unfailing certainty: it is that those who do not mean to support him under any circumstances — and there are legions of them — should make it known, boldly and loudly, before the election of delegates to the National Convention takes

place. Much is done in that direction already, but more should be done. Cannot you and your friends set the 'Young Republicans' of Massachusetts going?'' [84]

In May a Republican Anti-Third Term Convention met at St. Louis and was presided over by General J. B. Henderson of Missouri. It decided that, in case of the nomination of General Grant, a national committee should be appointed and instructed to meet in New York City ''to act in such a manner as they shall then deem best to carry out the spirit and purpose'' of the convention. The resolutions adopted declared most earnest opposition to a third term for any President and that ''as Republicans we cannot be hero-worshippers, and we demand from a party without a master the nomination of a candidate without a stain.'' [85] Delegations were present from New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Kansas, Iowa, and Rhode Island; while other persons were present from Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina — the majority being either lawyers or editors.[86] The nomination of Mr. Garfield was satisfactory to these Independents. It is interesting to notice that the name ''Liberals'' is no longer used. The passing of the Southern problem probably accounts largely for this fact.

Finally, in 1884, the nomination of James G. Blaine by the Republicans brought out, perhaps, the most effective activity of the Independents. In 1880 opposition to the candidacy of Mr. Blaine had been coupled with the anti-third-term sentiment; [87] but, for the sake of expediency, it had been suppressed since in the West, curiously enough, he was regarded as the rallying point of the people against the bosses, and the objections to him in the

East found there "only a faint echo".[88] In December, 1883, Republicans in Boston started to plan for the adoption of measures and the nomination of men who would command the approval of "the independent, thoughtful, and discriminating voters of the United States", by appointing a committee and entering into correspondence that resulted in calling a conference of Independent Republicans in New York City on February 23, 1884. The conference adopted a resolution urging the need of a candidate who would adhere "to the principles of administrative reform" and who would divorce "the public service from party politics" — a committee being appointed at the same time to "take such action in relation thereto as they may deem expedient."

Another conference in New York City, on June 16th, after the nomination of Mr. Blaine, was attended by prominent representatives from several States; and a resolution, offered by Mr. Schurz, referred to it as disregarding "the reform sentiment of the nation, and representing political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed", and he proposed a committee of twenty-five to rally and organize Republicans and Independents with a view to the holding of a representative conference as soon as possible. The chairman of the meeting and of the committee was George William Curtis.

After the Democratic convention had nominated Grover Cleveland, still another conference was held in New York City, from which there was issued an address to the people in which the object of the movement was stated to be "to defeat the Republican candidates". The address closed with the recommendation to vote for the Democratic candidate as the most effective way of striking at the "increasing public corruption", and the "want

of official integrity in the highest trusts of the Government." Throughout the campaign the Independents labored for the election of Mr. Cleveland. Their principal speaker was Carl Schurz, who travelled through several States, making addresses on the issues and candidates.[89]

In a letter to R. R. Bowker, dated at Dayton, Ohio, September 21, 1884, Mr. Schurz asks: "But am I to remain the only Independent speaker in the field? Is there no one to take a part of the burden? We have plenty of able men in Boston and New York. They are needed here, for the State of Ohio is in doubt, and the October election may decide the whole campaign. Is nobody available? I must say that I begin to feel a little lonesome in this struggle. Where is Curtis? And where are the able speakers from Massachusetts? . . . . I cannot do it all alone." [90]

In a letter to George W. Folsom, treasurer of the Independent Republican organization, Mr. Schurz acknowledges, under date of January 10, 1885, the receipt of a check for $600 "to refund my travelling expenses during the campaign. I did not keep any detailed account of my actual outlays on my campaign trips, as it was my expectation to bear those expenses myself. Least of all did I expect that the Committee would have any surplus funds after the election. But since that is the case I do not see why I should not permit at least a part of an outlay of money to be refunded, which was really larger than I could well afford." He returns the $600 check and asks that one for $300 be sent in its place. "That will about cover what I paid out in excess of what might be considered my cash quota of the campaign expenses." [91]

The "Mugwumps" were successful, for they helped to defeat Mr. Blaine. The independent has become a recognized factor in our political life, helping to make and unmake established parties and exercising a wholesome restraining influence upon public life: he is a product of the years from 1872 to 1884, beginning with the fiasco of Mr. Greeley's campaign and ending with the defeat of Mr. Blaine, when the object of his ambition seemed almost within his grasp.[92]

The Liberal Republican movement has usually been regarded as purely political in character, and consequently its relation to the economic unrest which began at about the same time has been overlooked. While in the East it was almost entirely political, it could not escape connection with other developments of the time, such as the Labor Reform agitation, and its western origin inevitably drew it into the movements arising there. It was made up of leaders who never had a following among the masses of the people. The failures of the Grant administration, the results of the radical Reconstruction policy, the weaknesses in the public career of Mr. Blaine were the peculiar objectives of the attacks of the Liberals; while the reduction of the tariff,[93] civil service reform, and sound money were the constructive features of their program.

The economic unrest in the West grew out of the existing conditions in that section, where problems of transportation, regulation of corporations in the interest of the people generally, and more abundant capital were the urgent matters in the minds of the people. Civil service reform and revision of the tariff were theoretical propositions that they were quite willing to put into their platforms, but about which they did not generate a great

deal of enthusiasm. The Liberal Republicans had little social vision because their surroundings did not help them to see much beyond the machinery of government, while the West had real economic and social problems to solve. Furthermore, the Liberal Republicans saw the regulation of corporations as a problem of official integrity — honest officials would mean honest corporations and vice versa; but the West viewed such regulation as a necessary preliminary to the proper development of the rich natural resources of their section.

Resolutions in various Liberal platforms refer to certain of these economic issues. The "bolting" convention in Missouri in 1870 adopted a resolution of opposition to the grant of public land to private corporations and urged its retention for the use of actual settlers.[94] The convention at Jefferson City in 1872, which issued the call for the Cincinnati Convention, denounced "the packing of the Supreme Court to relieve rich corporations".[95] The Cincinnati Convention declared against "all further grants of lands to railroads or other corporations. The public domain should be held sacred to actual settlers."[96] The Ohio Liberal Democratic Convention of 1873 condemned the Republican party "for the squandering of the public lands in grants to private corporations, for the release of railroads from their just obligations to the Government, and other manifestations of corruption, as developed by the Credit Mobilier and other investigations", declared that "grants of subsidies in bonds or money, and of special privileges and exemptions to national banks and other great moneyed corporations, and all fostering of monopolies at the expense of the whole people, are unjust and oppressive", and concluded with the statement that "it is the duty of the Government to

repeal all laws that favor capital to the prejudice of labor.'' [97]

The Liberal Democratic Convention in Connecticut in 1874 likewise declared opposition to all monopolies, recognized ''the grievances of which the industrial classes complain'', and favored ''a government policy that shall impose such restraints and prohibitions upon grasping corporations and stock gamblers as will prevent those financial fluctuations which have ever resulted in a debased currency, official defalcations, bankrupt employers, and starving working men and women.'' [98] It is worthy of note that these resolutions are in the platform of a combination of Democrats and Liberals which was successful in a number of elections in a conservative New England State.

It is apparent that the Liberal Republican movement was influenced by the economic unrest of the time, but it is equally evident that these forces did not vitally affect it. Its real leader, Mr. Schurz, was a German, a cosmopolitan in his attitude towards his environment, stirred by the slavery question and the legacies of the war and with little understanding of western conditions.[99] Missouri, the State with which he was most closely associated was southern rather than western, and the local problems there were the national problems in a smaller and perhaps more intense form. The other leaders were men whose outlook was eastern and European rather than western. Their great service was to break down the Chinese wall of partisanship which surrounded the Republican and Democratic parties in the early seventies — a work that was destructive rather than constructive. For real constructive work one must look to the third or minor parties that grew up contemporaneously with it, but largely independent of it.

PART II
THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT

VI

THIRD PARTIES IN THE WEST
1873-1876

From 1873 to 1876 there was a "farmers' movement" in the central and northwestern States that attracted a large share of public attention throughout the country. Under the names of Independent, Reform, or Anti-Monopoly parties, the farmers organized for political action in eleven States. In some places victories were secured by fusion with the Democrats, while in others independence was maintained. Three States secured the election of Independents to the United States Senate — Illinois, Kansas, and California.[100]

The origin of this movement dates back three or four years and grew out of an economic condition existing in those States which collectively have been described as the "garden-spot of the country". In 1870 Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, in the order named, were the greatest wheat-producing States in the Union: more than one-third of all the wheat raised in the United States was produced by these four States. Illinois and Iowa were also the largest corn-producing States. In addition they attracted a large immigration from Europe, with the result that the area under cultivation was extended and the crops increased beyond the capacity of home consumption; and so it became necessary to send large quantities of grain to eastern markets. The development of railroad facilities did not keep pace with the increased pro-

duction, so that grain accumulated and the railroads were unable to handle it. The increase in freight rates caused great dissatisfaction among the farmers, who held that the railroads were extortionate and made grain production unprofitable. The railroads replied that competition compelled them to give low rates for through freights and that they must charge higher rates for local freights. Furthermore, they declared that even with high rates they did not pay expenses.[101]

At the same time there developed in these States a great number of farmers' clubs and various organizations, known as the "Patrons of Husbandry" or more popularly as "granges". The grange movement originated in Washington in 1867 as a result of the efforts of a number of government clerks who were interested in improving the conditions of the farmers in the southern and western States. It was a secret organization modelled upon the Masons and Odd Fellows. The first local granges were established in 1868, and by the end of the year ten were in existence — six of which were in Minnesota. The organization did not make much progress until 1872 when 1,105 granges were established, followed by 8,400 in 1873, and nearly 4,700 in the first two months of 1874.[102]

The rapid growth of the granges began when the order commenced "to advocate government regulation of railroad rates, and to establish coöperative enterprises for the purpose of eliminating the profits of the middlemen."[103] The system used by the manufacturers of agricultural implements, by which they agreed with their agents not to sell directly to farmers at lower prices than those demanded by local agents, compelled purchasers to pay from twenty to forty percent profits to

these middlemen. As a result many granges established common funds, made up of the money that individual members intended to devote to the purchase of agricultural implements, and then purchased directly from the manufacturers at wholesale prices. Sometimes, also, this plan was used in the purchase of groceries and dry goods to the great injury of local trade.[104] The grange was non-political in character; but that did not prevent it from taking a stand upon public questions, and it undoubtedly paved the way for the establishment of the so-called Granger parties.[105]

Another phase of the opposition was shown in the "Three-cent Wars" in Illinois, where the railroad commission had fixed a schedule of maximum passenger rates. The Illinois Central Railroad disregarded this schedule and charged its usual rates, instructing its conductors to eject passengers refusing to pay the regular fare. The farmers formed "Three-cent Clubs" and travelled in such numbers as to secure the enforcement of legal rights. Where they did not travel in force, they were ejected. Conductors were arrested and fined for assault. The Alton Railroad, being sued for damages by ejected passengers, in turn brought suit for the delay and disturbance of trains.[106]

The movement for a new political party, with railroad regulation as its principal plank, first came to a head in Illinois. The agitation had been going or more or less vigorously since 1865. Finally, provisions were inserted in the new Constitution in 1870 directing the legislature to pass laws to prevent extortion and discrimination in railway rates. In accordance with this direction the Assembly in 1871 enacted a series of so-called "Granger laws", one of which was declared unconstitutional by the

State Supreme Court in January, 1873. This action was the signal for the farmers' entrance into politics. A State Farmers' Convention was called to meet at Springfield in April, 1873. The principal work of the convention was the adoption of a series of resolutions concerning railroad legislation, followed later by other resolutions which suggest that the movement was expected to develop into a new political party. There was considerable opposition to the adoption of resolutions upon other subjects likely to weaken their work in favor of the regulation of railroads. The opponents of these resolutions declared that they were the result of the efforts of Democratic politicians to capture the movement and of railroad men to nullify it by confusing it with other issues. The immediate result of the agitation of the farmers was the passage in May, 1873, of a more radical and effective law for the regulation of railroads.

The political results of the movement were first manifested in the judicial elections of June, 1873. In two districts in which Supreme Court vacancies occurred and in eight or nine of the circuits in which judges were to be elected the candidates nominated or favored by the farmers were elected in nearly every case. Encouraged by their success, the farmers threw themselves energetically into the campaign for the election of county officers in the fall. Celebrations of Independence Day were arranged to give impetus to the movement. At most of these meetings an important part of the program was the reading of the new "Farmers' Declaration of Independence" [107] — a skillful parody on the original Declaration. It set forth at great length the conditions which had led to the uprising of the agricultural class. It concluded by declaring the farmers absolutely independent of all

past political connections. The enthusiasm of the farmers was also stirred up by numerous picnics and harvest festivals. County after county held conventions and nominated farmers' tickets. Of the 102 counties, sixty-six made independent nominations. The election returns showed "Anti-Monopoly" tickets successful in fifty-three of the sixty-six counties. The total vote in sixty-six counties was 176,263 — of which the "Reform" candidates received 94,188, leaving 82,075 to all the other candidates. The same ratio carried throughout the State would have given the new party a majority of 22,000. The "Reformers" made their best showing in these local elections: when they entered the broader field of State politics, they found many voters unwilling to follow them.[108]

Parties were formed in 1873 in Minnesota and Wisconsin — known in the former as Anti-Monopoly and the latter as Reform. In both States the Democrats either fused with or accepted the candidates of the new party. The principal issue was the regulation of railroads. Reduction of the tariff, lower salaries, and more economical administration were demanded in both the platforms. Wisconsin declared that the national debt should be honestly paid, and Minnesota declared for a speedy return to specie payments. Many Republicans joined the new party; but at the same time great efforts were made to counteract this tendency. Fortunately the Republican Governors in these States had advocated regulation, and so they were renominated on platforms favoring regulation and expressing concern for the welfare of the farmer. In Minnesota a Democratic convention was held and adopted a platform; but it endorsed the candidates of the new party. In Wisconsin the Democrats met the day

after the Reformers had assembled and the two conventions agreed upon a fusion ticket and a joint platform. In Minnesota the outcome was a greatly reduced Republican majority. In Wisconsin the "most startling results were achieved." Through local complications the railroad and liquor interests supported the Granger candidates, with the result that the whole fusion ticket of State officers was elected. The Democrats and Reformers also secured a majority of twenty in the lower house, while the Republicans retained a majority of one in the Senate.[109]

Likewise in Nebraska the farmers' movement was one of the chief events of the year. The opinions of the agricultural classes were set forth in elaborate resolutions of the usual sort, adopted by a convention of the "Grand Castle of the Order of American Farmers and Mechanics of Nebraska" held at Lincoln on July 29, 1873.[110] In Nebraska and in Kansas there were no State elections, but farmers' candidates were nominated in a number of counties; and in Kansas a sufficient number of Independents were elected to give the opposition to the Republicans about twenty majority in the lower house of the State legislature. As a result, ex-Governor James M. Harvey, a farmer and an Independent, was elected to the United States Senate.[111]

In California transportation within the State, along the coast, and connecting with other States was merged under one corporation owned, it was claimed, by three persons.[112] Freight rates were almost prohibitive, ranging from three to fifteen cents per ton per mile. A bitter struggle between the railroad monopoly and the people had been maintained for three years, and had, of course,

entered into the politics of the State — especially in the election of United States Senators. The railroad interests controlled both of the old parties; and so an Independent or Anti-Monopoly movement developed, led by Governor Newton Booth and ex-Senator Eugene Casserly. The election resulted in a legislature composed of thirty-seven Republicans, forty-two Democrats, and forty-one Independents. Two United States Senators were to be chosen. The contest lasted for three weeks, and it is said that "there was a lavish expenditure of money on the part of the railway companies". In spite of these influences Governor Booth and Judge John S. Hager, an "anti-railroad Democrat", were elected.[113]

In 1874 Independent or Anti-Monopoly parties continued to be active in all these States, while new organizations were effected in some others. In Ohio a few local efforts, begun in 1873, failed to develop any strength — probably because of a revival within the Democratic party in the State at that time.[114]

A convention of farmers met at Indianapolis, Indiana, in June, 1874, in response to a call signed by a long list of persons and headed by the superintendent of the State Grange, which exhorted the people regardless of party relations to meet in mass convention "to frame such measures and select such men as shall represent their sentiments and carry out their purposes. . . . The success of this popular outbreak depends upon the exclusion of the party managers and self-seeking demagogues." About 500 delegates representing every county in the State were present, and a resolution was adopted assuming the name of "Independent" for the new party. Considerable discussion and some differences of opinion

upon the expediency of forming a new party led to the withdrawal of several delegates. Later a platform was adopted and nominations for State officers were made.

Another convention met at the same place in August to fill vacancies caused by the refusal of some of the candidates to run. Two were rejected because they had accepted nominations from the Democrats. Only about seventy-five delegates attended the second convention. In the election these "Independent" candidates received over 16,000 votes. They also secured five senators and eight representatives in the legislature. After the election in November, still another convention met at Indianapolis to form a new party. This convention was attended by about thirty persons from various parts of the State; and after some discussion they published a "basis upon which to call a preliminary national convention" to form "a new political organization". The "basis" contained two articles demanding (1) "a paper-money issued by the Government directly to the people, without the intervention of any system of banking corporations" and (2) that the interest on the public debt and that portion of the principal which is by the express terms of the law payable in coin be so paid. The convention also unanimously adopted recommendations for a national convention to be held at Cleveland in March, 1875, "to perfect a national platform and to appoint a time and place for holding a national independent convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President". All who fully endorsed "the basis of union" were to be invited to participate.[115]

In Michigan a new party, known as the National Reform party, was organized in August and held a nominating convention in September, 1874. The platform de-

manded (1) a reduction in the number and diminution of the power of offices under the national government; (2) a reduction of salaries; (3) frequent changes to secure purity in administration; (4) the election of all local and federal office-holders by the people; (5) a speedy return to hard money as the only standard of value; (6) all banking made free; (7) a tariff for revenue and an equitable system of taxation. The candidates nominated were in part accepted by the Democrats — those not so endorsed and not withdrawn receiving a vote ranging from two to seven thousand.[116]

The political activity begun among the farmers in Illinois in 1873 developed into a State party in 1874. The first general political convention of the year was a large and enthusiastic gathering, chiefly of farmers, at Springfield on June 10th, which nominated a Democrat for State treasurer and a Republican for State superintendent. A declaration of principles stated that "the farmers, mechanics, and other citizens of Illinois", deemed "it needful for the best interests of this State and nation that independent political action be taken by and in behalf of the producing, industrial, and other business classes, and in opposition to corporate monopolies, that are influencing, even controlling, our Legislatures, courts, and executives, and taxing and oppressing our citizens". One article condemns specifically the "practice of our public officials in receiving free passes from railroads." The name chosen for the new party was "Independent Reform", and appeal was made "regardless of past political affiliations . . . . to the better judgment of all our business and professional men to lend us their aid and sympathy, remembering, as they well may, that upon our prosperity and happiness depends their success in

business.'' The Democrats nominated a candidate of their own for treasurer but endorsed the Independent candidate for superintendent. In the election the fusion candidate received 197,490 votes, compared with 166,984 for the Republican candidate; while for treasurer the Republican candidate was chosen by a plurality of nearly thirty thousand, the Independent nominee receiving over 75,000 out of a total vote of about 370,000. The congressional delegation as a result of the election stood seven Republicans, eight Democrats, three Independent Reformers, and one Independent Republican. In the State legislature the Independents secured three senators and twenty-seven representatives.[117]

In Wisconsin the political contest, which ended at the election in November, 1874, was conducted with remarkable energy by the Republicans and their antagonists — whom they designated by the general name of ''Reformers''. The congressional delegation was made up of five Republicans and three Reformers. The whole number of votes, arranged by districts, amounted to 186,435 — of which 93,411 were for Reformers and 93,024 for Republicans. The year before the total, made up in a similar way, had been 147,823 — of which 81,199 had been for Reformers and 66,224 for Republicans. In the legislature, the Reformers had fifteen senators and thirty-five representatives.[118]

In Missouri the opposition to the Democratic party — the party then in control — consolidated under the name of Peoples' party. It was ''made up chiefly of Republicans'' and held its convention at Jefferson City in September, 1874. In the platform appeal was made to the people to act ''independent of all old party organizations.'' ''Frequent sessions of the Legislature are pro-

ductive only of confusion in our laws and largely increase the burdens upon the taxpayers''; and so the party was ''in favor of a constitutional revision requiring a session only once in four years.'' Further contraction of the national currency was declared detrimental to the producing classes. Members of Congress were to be selected ''who will have constantly in view the true interests of the producers of the West, the improvement of the water-routes of the country and other means of transportation to the sea board, the reduction of taxes, and the adjustment of duties on imports to a revenue basis; the speediest feasible safe reduction; cancelment of the interest-bearing debt, the abolition of the monopoly features of our banking system, with as early a return to specie payment as can be effected without disaster.'' The Democrats were successful at the polls, the vote for Governor standing 149,566 for their candidate while the opposition candidate received 112,104. There were no Republican candidates.[119]

The opposition in Kansas took the name of Independent Reform and held its nominating convention at Topeka in August, 1874. A platform of the usual character was adopted, the last article of which favored ''the election of President and Vice-President, and United States Senators, by the direct voice of the people.'' The Republicans were successful by a plurality of 13,000 votes, out of a total of 84,000 cast for Governor. In the legislative elections the Reformers won nine senators and twelve representatives; in addition there were three Independent representatives, besides three Democratic senators and ten Democratic representatives.[120]

In Nebraska the Independents held a convention at Lincoln in September, 1874, and nominated candidates

for Governor, State treasurer, and for members of Congress. The platform favored resumption of specie payments as soon as possible, opposed all combinations, favored the election of President and Vice-President and United States Senators by direct vote, and declared that "inter-state commerce should be regulated by Congress, and that railroad pools . . . . should be prohibited, so that competition may be encouraged in the interest of cheap transportation." Republicans and Democrats both nominated candidates, the former presenting a remarkably progressive platform. One article recommended "that the Government establish and operate a double-track railroad from the Missouri River to the Atlantic"; and another was almost identical with the article in the Independent platform in regard to the election of federal officials by a direct vote. The Republicans carried the election.[121]

An Independent party held a convention at Salem, Oregon, in April, 1874. Here nominations were made and a platform adopted in which it was declared "that the uprising of the agricultural classes, and their organization into a compact society for mutual protection against the extortions of oppressive monopolies, commends itself to the favor of every just mind, and cannot but result in ultimate good to the whole people." The two old parties were very nearly equal in voting strength, and are said to have combined in some places to defeat the Independents. The vote for Governor was 9,700 for the Democrats, 9,100 for the Republicans, and 6,500 for the Independents; for Congressman it was 9,600 for the Democrats, 9,300 for the Republicans, and 6,300 for the Independents. In the legislative and local elections the new

party was even more successful than in the State and congressional contests.[122]

In only a few States did these Independent parties continue active in 1875. In Wisconsin the Democrats renominated the persons then in office, and declared in their platform that "the representatives of the Democratic, Liberal Reform and Independent electors of [the State] . . . . abide by the principles of political reform adopted by the People's Reform Convention of 1873, and subsequently readopted by fifteen thousand majority of the people". The Republican candidate for Governor was elected, although the other State officers chosen were Democrats. The Republicans also regained full control of the legislature.[123]

In Oregon the Independents nominated a candidate for Congress at a convention held at Salem in August, 1875; and in their platform they favored a return to specie payments at the earliest practicable moment and condemned all third-term schemes. The Republicans and Democrats also made nominations; the latter carried the election by a close vote. The Independent candidate received a much smaller vote than in 1874.[124]

The State election of 1875 in California was conducted almost wholly on local issues, the leading subjects discussed being irrigation, transportation monopolies, tax reform, and reform in municipal government. The People's Independent party, which was originally formed under the leadership of Governor Newton Booth, had drawn largely from the Republican ranks, and had also received considerable Democratic support. This year both Republicans and Democrats made nominations. The result of the election was the choice of the Democratic

candidates by a large vote. The vote for Governor stood: Democrats, 61,509; Republicans, 31,322; and Independents, 29,752.[125]

In Minnesota a "Reform" party, which emphasized the suppression of the liquor traffic, held a State convention at St. Paul in June, 1875. This party seems to have had no direct connection with the earlier Anti-Monopoly party, for it declared in its platform that "the time has come for the formation of a political party", which in addition to the abolition of the liquor traffic, would demand the adjustment of the relations between capital and labor and the honest and economical administration of government. Very probably about the same men composed this party as made up the earlier one — although, as both Republicans and Democrats nominated candidates, the vote cast for Reform was only about 1,600 out of a total of over 80,000 votes.[126]

It was during the years 1873 and 1874 that the greatest successes were achieved by these Independent parties. In a few States they were active in 1875. In Indiana and Illinois they took part in the formation and became component parts of the national Greenback party in 1875 and 1876. In Illinois enough Independents and Greenbackers were elected to the legislature to hold the balance between the two old parties and secure the election of Judge David Davis as an Independent to the United States Senate in 1876.[127]

It appears, therefore, that Independent parties were organized in eleven States — Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, California, and Oregon. In some of these States they secured victories by uniting with the Democrats and

forming a new party of opposition to the majority party — the Republicans — except in Missouri. In other States they maintained their independence, and secured local victories and cut down the vote for the old parties. In California many of the Independents cast their lot with the "Workingmen's party", which was formed by Dennis Kearney and played a considerable part in California politics till 1880.[128]

The purpose and character of this Independent movement is indicated by the platforms adopted. It was an "anti-monopoly" movement, and the Granger laws were its principal achievement, It was also a "reform" movement. On the currency question a majority took a definite stand in favor of a return to specie payments as soon as possible.[129] It began "that radical but tedious revolution of American ideas which is slowly bringing industry under the political power of democracy."[130]

An editorial comment in the *Chicago Weekly Tribune* summed up the results of the movement. "It is idle to talk of the failure of a movement which has gained the political control of the States of Wisconsin and California; which is dictating terms to the old parties in Iowa and Kansas; which has carried a majority of the counties of Illinois, and bids fair to carry the State at the next general election; which is making rapid headway in Minnesota and Michigan, and which has secured so fearless and able a leader as Gov. Booth in the United States Senate. . . . If there is any healthier political organization anywhere than that which the farmers have originated in the West, we do not know what name it is called by . . . . the main significance of the Farmers' Movement is that it offers to those who desire reform in public administration, and who have sought and

failed to secure it in the old dividend-paying parties, an opportunity to accomplish something for the benefit of the country at large — not for the farmers merely, but for all who live by their industry, as distinguished from those who live by politics, speculations and class-legislation." [131]

VII

THE ANTI-MONOPOLY PARTY IN IOWA 1873-1875

The sources from which the Anti-Monopoly party in Iowa came were the same as those from which similar parties sprang in neighboring States. Like all the people of the Central West the people of Iowa were at first very friendly to railroads, and they were very slow to resent the growing abuses. For years no attempt was made to check the growth of evils, but at last the patience of the people was exhausted. The abuses were not confined to one State and the demand for their removal arose simultaneously in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Iowa. Fanned by the arrogant attitude of the railroad managers the new party movement spread in a short time over the whole Northwest.[132]

The party went under a number of names such as the "New Party",[133] the "Anti-Monopoly" party,[134] the "People's" party,[135] the "Farmers' and Laboring Men's" party,[136] and the "Reform" party.[137] Probably the most frequently used term was that of Anti-Monopoly, although stanch Democrats like Judge E. H. Thayer of *The Clinton Age* declared that it was a senseless name.[138] The variety of names and the lack of definiteness were due to the nondescript character of the party. It was really a coalition of diverse elements, which at once comprised its strength and its weakness. After all it was really an "opposition" party — the first of a suc-

cession of parties based upon economic issues, a party of protest and discontent, an unconscious effort to grapple with new problems which were only vaguely understood. Parties before the Civil War had dealt with political, constitutional, and moral issues. The Anti-Monopoly movement marked the lifting of the curtain upon the stage where the influences of wealth and democracy were to struggle for supremacy — a struggle of which we are now witnessing, perhaps, the very crisis.

Another element in the situation was the condition of the Democratic party in the State and in the Nation: it was hopelessly in the minority because of its record before and during the Civil War, and its leaders were ready to grasp any opportunity to climb back into power. Anything that promised to strengthen opposition to the Republicans received their support. Moreover, any association with the Democrats seemed to imply not only bad judgment but positive disloyalty; while opposition to the Republican party that had saved the Union was sure to be branded as showing sympathy with the enemies of the Nation.

The situation in Iowa was very similar to that in Illinois and Wisconsin: there was a growing demand for the regulation of railroad rates by legislation; the Republican party was in control and not inclined to give heed to this demand; and there was a movement on the part of the farmers to organize a new political party. The activity of the farmers was the more important because in Iowa there had been organized more local granges than in any other State in the Union.[139] In February, 1873, while the legislature was in special session to revise the *Code*, the State Grange met at Des Moines; and the influence of 1,200 Republican farmers at the capital,

talking to members and asserting that their organization would control the next legislature seems to have been the most important factor in securing the passage of a law fixing maximum passenger rates. A proposed measure for the regulation of freight rates failed to pass the Senate.[140]

Immediately the farmers began to organize a new party. There were few open clubs in Iowa of the kind that took the lead in Illinois, so that the local granges were drawn into political action rather more than in other States. Such work, however, was generally done at informal meetings.[141] Press comments indicate what was going on in the State. A Democratic paper declared it did not "blame the farmers for organizing in their own interests . . . . but it looks to us as though the Grangers were undertaking too much. . . . [They] will control the election in this State next fall [1873]. They will elect the next legislature. . . . But after they have got through legislating they will ascertain that there are certain fixed and irrevocable laws of trade, which no legislative power can change or modify." [142] Two months later the same paper observed that "the parties of today may run candidates next fall, but we hardly think the dividing lines will remain the same as now much beyond another election. There seems to be a general upheaval of parties." [143] A Republican organ referred to "the talk which has lately not been inconsiderable of a new party to take the place of old ones".[144] There are also frequent references to political action by the Patrons of Husbandry.[145]

During the months of May and June, 1873, the newspapers gave accounts of conventions called by the Grangers to nominate candidates for county offices and for

seats in the legislature.[146] Finally, a call was issued by a Polk County farmers' convention held at Des Moines on June 7, 1873, for a State convention to meet on August 13th to nominate State officers. The convention which issued this call was described as "quite large and also quite respectable in its membership. Every township in the County but one was reported as represented; and there were in the body, perhaps, between one hundred and fifty and two hundred actual members. It was a farmers' convention, in large majority. . . . Politically, it was about evenly divided between Republicans and Democrats. The Democratic half, however, was the more active half, and . . . . shaped the proceedings". The convention created a "State Committee" of five members. Of this committee the chairman was the treasurer of the State Grange. He was also one of the "real" Republicans on the committee. Three of the members had been supporters of Mr. Greeley in 1872.[147] The committee met on July 3rd and issued a call for a State convention to be held in accordance with the action of the convention which appointed it.[148]

The Anti-Monopoly State Convention met at Des Moines on August 13th. At the opening there were present two hundred persons, of whom one-half perhaps were delegates representing thirty-seven counties. A speech was made by John P. Irish, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee, in which he declared that the Democratic party was dead and expressed his willingness to accept the new party. The Republican press described the convention as run by Democrats, with very few farmers.[149] Jacob G. Vale was nominated for Governor and a platform was adopted expressing demands much the same as those of the Illinois Independents.[150] A Republican

newspaper in referring to Vale before his nomination as Governor spoke of him as "a good illustration of a prosperous Iowa farmer. He came to the State some twenty or twenty-five years ago, with very little pecuniary means. He was a college graduate and an experienced school teacher, but concluded to devote himself to agriculture. . . . He has added farm after farm . . . . until he has come to be one of the most extensive farmers in the State".[151] The same paper, commenting upon his nomination as Governor, described him as having "bolted" the county Republican ticket in 1869 and as having been elected an Independent with the aid of Democratic votes. It was said that he was ambitious, and that two years earlier he had thought that he might be elected United States Senator in Mr. Harlan's place.[152]

While the events just described were taking place, the Republicans held their State convention, renominated Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter, and adopted a platform favorable to the demands of the farmers. An effort was also made to nominate Dudley W. Adams, Past Master of the Iowa State Grange and Master of the National Grange, for Lieutenant-Governor; but this plan failed, although Mr. Adams received over one-third of the votes on the first ballot.[153] Governor Carpenter, himself a prominent Granger, was pledged to favor the farmers' policy. In an address before the State Agricultural Society in January, 1873, he had declared his belief in State regulation of railroads. He also predicted that the time would come "when a system of National Railroads, built at government expense, and managed by the government, as a department of the civil service, will extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans."[154] The Grangers took possession of the primary meetings which sent delegates

to the Republican convention which nominated Mr. Carpenter. Indeed, there were enough Grangers in the convention to have prevented his nomination had they so desired. He was their choice and after his nomination he was invited to address a large number of Grange meetings.[155]

Of the campaign of the Republican candidate it was said by a Republican paper [156] that "Carpenter, the candidate of the Radical party for re-election to the office of Governor, and a member of capital Grange, perambulated all over the State making political speeches, at Grange picnics". The same paper refers to this method as "Governor Carpenter's demagoguery in traveling over the State, attending Grange rallies, standing on the outskirts of the crowd eating corn dodgers and flitch meat, pretending to like them."

A friendly account of the Anti-Monopoly campaign described it as unorganized and without leaders, "except for localities. There is no money to pay the ordinary and necessary expenses of a campaign. There is no press recognized to advocate organization, to lead public opinion, and the whole army of anti-monopolists, workingmen, industrials and free traders, is yet at sea, and every individual is thus far running a campaign of his own." [157] Under such circumstances the new party could not carry on a very effective campaign.

The Democratic State Committee, following the suggestion of its chairman made in his speech before the Anti-Monopoly convention, issued an address in September announcing its determination not to call a State convention and advising Democrats to support the Anti-Monopoly candidates;[158] and this advice seems to have been quite generally followed. There was some dissatis-

faction among the more conservative Republicans with Governor Carpenter's friendly attitude toward the farmers' demands. On the other hand, a good many Grangers were prevented from joining the Anti-Monopoly movement because of the Governor's sympathetic position.[159]

The result of the election was a considerable reduction in the Republican majority. Many Republican counties elected full Anti-Monopoly tickets. The most successful opposition to the Republicans was in those counties where the Republican majorities had been largest. For example, in Henry, Washington, Mahaska, Jasper, Warren, Muscatine, Scott, and Black Hawk counties the Republican vote "was divided near the middle." A Republican paper spoke of "Mr. Vale, who has made such an unexpected run for Governor", declared that the Grangers "exhibited considerable cohesion, and have demonstrated that, should they decide to go into politics hereafter, they will constitute a very powerful, if not a controlling element — while they hang together".[160] Governor Carpenter probably saved the Republicans from defeat.[161]

The final returns showed a falling off of 27,587 votes for the Republicans and a gain for the opposition of 6,573 votes. In the elections to the legislature the Republicans elected fourteen senators and forty-eight representatives, while the Anti-Monopolists elected eight senators and forty-nine representatives.[162] The almost equal division of the House of Representatives produced a long deadlock, which was finally settled on the one hundred forty-second ballot by a compromise under which the Republicans got the speakership and the opposition was given the other officers and the control of a number of committees.[163]

The principal business before the legislature was the

railroad question. Judge Edward H. Thayer of Clinton declared that "an outsider would conclude that the only thing wanted in Iowa to make everybody supremely happy, was the total destruction of every railroad in the State. . . . If half the Legislative projects now being considered are put into the statutes, the law-makers need but add one more and that one to provide for building a Chinese wall around the State, and their work will be done. . . . When we see a dozen different bills for the regulation of railroads, introduced into the two houses of the General Assembly in a single morning, we feel like crying out against such mischievous and injurious Legislation." [164]

A committee of the State Grange sent in a draft of a moderate bill providing for an investigating committee as a preparation for future legislation. The Anti-Monopoly members of the legislature rejected this proposal, declaring that it was probably drafted in a railway office.[165] A bill fixing maximum rates, similar to the Granger laws of Illinois and Wisconsin, was passed.[166] It was prepared largely by Senator Frank T. Campbell, an able young journalist of Jasper County who was serving his second term in the State Senate. He was assisted by Judge George R. Willett, Senator from Winneshiek County. Senators Lafayette Young of Cass County, chairman of the Senate Committee on Railroads, John Shane, and John P. West of Henry County were leaders in the upper house. In the House of Representatives John Q. Tufts of Cedar County, Lemuel R. Bolter of Harrison County, and Joshua G. Newbold of Henry County were the leaders.[167]

The wildest predictions were made by the railroads as to the extremes to which the Anti-Monopolists would go

in their legislation, but they limited themselves to the establishment of an official classification and the fixing of maximum rates. "The law was approved March 23, 1874, and went into effect on the 4th of July following. This law in no case compelled companies to carry freight at a lower rate than they had voluntarily carried it in the past. Many of the rates in force at the time of the passage of the act were considerably lower than the corresponding maximum rates fixed by the legislature. The average rates fixed by the law were higher than the rates at which the railroads had previously carried a large portion of corresponding freight. The revenues of the road were not even curtailed by this law. . . .

"The Granger laws have been and are still severely criticised by those opposed to the principles of State control and by the ignorant. It is nevertheless true that those laws were moderate, just and reasonably well adapted to remedy the evils of which the public complained. . . . The Iowa law was imperfect in detail and yet its enactment proved one of the greatest legislative achievements in the history of the State. It demonstrated to the people their ability to correct by earnestness and perseverance the most far-reaching public abuses and led to an emphatic judicial declaration of the common-law principle that railroads are highways and as such are subject to any legislative control which may be deemed necessary for the public welfare." [168]

The law of 1874 was not passed without great opposition on the part of the railroad interests. Before the assembling of the legislature the correspondent of *The Chicago Tribune* at Des Moines reported that the indications were that there would be "an extensive moneyed lobby. Many of the best rooms in the first hotels have

been engaged for the winter by well-known politicians and lobbyites. Among the number are several railroad Republicans, noted for their lobbying successes at Washington." [169]

There was a prevalent feeling among the Anti-Monopolists that they failed in the campaign of 1873 "rather from a lack of organization and systematic work than from any inherent weakness in their cause." They determined, therefore, to remedy this defect by securing organization.[170] And so a call was issued for "a Delegate convention of all the voters of Iowa opposed to the Radical party and Monopoly" at Des Moines on February 25, 1874. The object as stated was "to consolidate all the elements in favor of reform in the State and National Governments." [171] Commenting upon this call a Republican paper declared that there was "unquestionably a great weakening of party ties. The old political parties are on trial. This is especially true of the Republican party. . . . A multitude of voters who have stood by and been a part of the Republican party from the day of its birth till now, have reached the conclusion that if that party is to be run by such men as Ben. Butler and Matt. Carpenter, the sooner it goes down the better." [172]

The State convention met at the appointed time. Sixty-four counties were represented by 414 delegates. A new State committee was chosen to serve till June, and a platform containing eleven resolutions was adopted. The gathering was described as "highly respectable, and the proceedings entirely harmonious. . . . The convention was largely managed by members of the old Democratic party. . . . A careful examination of the names . . . . does not indicate that any special inroads have been made upon the Republican party since

the last election. Still it seems to us quite evident that the Republican supremacy in the State and Congressional elections this year is to be more warmly and vigorously contested than it has been at any time during the last fourteen years. . . . The new party has made a thorough organization. It has appointed a Central Committee for the State at large and one for each Congressional and judicial district. As Republicans, we are gratified that the Anti-Monopolists have made so fair a start. . . . For many years the Republican majorities in Iowa have been too large. That they will be reduced in the future, seems now quite certain. . . . We do not think the new party is going to carry Iowa at present, yet with a wide-spread secret organization in our midst, though professedly non-political, yet taking a vital interest in politics, the usual bases of calculation are somewhat disturbed." [173]

The committee appointed in February called another convention to meet at Des Moines on June 24, 1874, to nominate candidates. A friendly observer described the convention as "one of the largest gatherings of the kind ever held in Iowa. It was made up of Republicans, Democrats, old-time Abolitionists, Liberals, Independents, hard money men, soft money men, greenbackers, beer men and anti-beer men, license men and anti-license men . . . . and for a convention thus made up to harmonize upon so many matters, was one of the most wonderful sights we ever witnessed." [174] Of the same convention a Republican editor said that "the managing man . . . . was ex-Governor Stone, a gentleman of great political shrewdness and no political principle. . . . He was the only State Executive elected by the Republican party whose moral and political life his especial friends were

continually called upon to defend . . . . his chief assistants were J. B. Grinnell, John P. Irish, and Ed. Campbell, and others of like stripe. . . . The outlook for reform has not been improved by the meeting of Anti-Monops''.[175] Another Republican paper described the ticket as ''not as strong as that of the same party last year''.[176] Mr. Stone's relation to the Anti-Monopolists in 1874 was similar to that of Mr. Greeley to the Democrats in 1872.[177] There seems to have been a general feeling of dissatisfaction among the supporters of the new party over the results of the convention.[178] Probably this was due also to the discussion over the license plank and over proposals to change the name of the party from Anti-Monopoly to Independent. The platform, written by Mr. Stone, is spoken of as satisfactory to none. An editorial with the heading of ''The Conundrum Convention'' said it ''was a successful sort of a failure.'' Four hundred delegates were present from ninety-two counties.[179]

Republican comment on the result of the election declared that ''the Anti-Monopoly party has received its quietus, and we shall hear of it no more. It would have been buried more effectually had the Republicans massed their full strength against it. As it was, the general vote was light, but light as it was it was all too heavy for the Reform party''.[180] Judge Thayer of Clinton called attention to the Democratic victories in Ohio and Indiana and said, ''we believe had the ticket been styled 'Democratic', it would have received 30,000 more votes than the Anti-Monopoly ticket received. We believe if the Congressional nominees had been put into the field under a democratic call, Iowa would have elected democratic Congressmen in the First, Second and Third dis-

tricts".[181] As it was one Congressman, Mr. L. L. Ainsworth, was elected from the third district. A Republican paper remarked that he was the first Democrat elected to Congress from Iowa since 1856. It also spoke of him as a fit man for the place and the best of the nine nominees of the opposition party.[182] It should be added that the election was only for minor State officers and for members of Congress. The usual falling off of votes in an off year should therefore be kept in mind.[183]

In December, 1874, a conference was held at Iowa City "to consult together as to the future course to be pursued by the Anti-Republican voters of Iowa." [184] Here it was decided that the Democratic Committee of 1872, the Liberal Committee of 1873, the Anti-Monopoly Committee of 1874, and the Iowa members of the National Democratic Committee should unite to call a convention to meet not later than June 15, 1875, at Des Moines.[185] Rumors of a Democratic caucus to be held in Des Moines on February 22, 1875, are referred to with disapproval by *The Clinton Age*,[186] whose editor favored a convention to be called by the Democrats but liberal enough to include all ready to coöperate with the Democrats.[187] The same paper also stated early in April that "some months ago it looked as though the anti-republican party of Iowa, was getting up dissensions. . . . But everything is quieting down. . . . The programme appears to consist simply of a democratic call for a democratic convention to nominate democratic candidates for State offices." [188]

The call was finally issued in May for a State convention of Democrats, Liberals, Anti-Monopolists, and of "all others who are opposed to the Republican party as at present constituted" to be held on June 24, 1875, at Des Moines.[189] At the appointed time over three hundred

delegates representing about seventy counties assembled. The gathering was much more thoroughly Democratic than in the preceding year, when one-third of the delegates were former Republicans. This year not over one-sixth were Republicans. The year before the Republicans held the leadership in the convention, but this year they had little to do with the management of affairs. Mr. Shepherd Leffler, an old-time Democrat, was nominated for Governor. Discussion occurred again upon the name of the party, but no definite action was taken, although several motions were made.[190]

The nomination of Mr. Leffler caused a great deal of criticism. The *Burlington Hawk-Eye* declared that his "thirty-five crops of corn", of which he boasted in the convention, "have been mostly if not entirely raised by proxy. 'Shep' himself was always 'constitutionally tired', and for this he has probably been more noted than for anything else during his long residence in this community."[191] *The Clinton Age* referred to him as "the lion-nerved",[192] and declared his "one mistake" was that he was growing old.[193] Later in the campaign the same paper protested against the personal abuse in which the parties were engaging.[194]

After the election the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* referred to the campaign made by Mr. Leffler as "the most thorough" and "most successful" of any Democrat during the last fifteen years. "He traversed the State from river to river and from the Missouri to the Minnesota line." His speeches were not particularly pleasing or instructive, but "there has been nevertheless a certain plausibility about them, accompanied by the evident honesty of the speaker, which has made them quite popular with his own party, and secured for him quite a measure

of respect from his opponents.'' Reference was also made to ''the unexpected run'' made by him in his own county.[195]

The Clinton Age said that ''a very light opposition vote was cast . . . . and there was a large falling off from last year's Anti-Monopoly vote. . . . The Republican vote polled was a large one, Kirkwood's popularity being undoubtedly the cause, while the falling off in the Democratic vote, was due to the lack of enthusiasm felt in the candidature of Mr. Leffler''.[196] In the House the Republicans made large gains — seventy-one to twenty-nine in place of an almost equal division. The Senate remained almost unchanged. The same number of counties was carried as by the Anti-Monopolists, but the majorities were much heavier in 1875 than in 1874. Democratic gains in two districts insured the return of two Democratic Congressmen in 1876.[197] Mr. Buck declares that the platform adopted by the June convention contained ambiguous planks on the currency and liquor questions. In fact, the failure to declare definitely against prohibition appears to have alienated much of the German vote. The Republican majority was held down to about 30,000: it had formerly been about 60,000.[198]

The campaign of 1875 was the last in which the Anti-Monopoly party figured in Iowa. The national election of 1876 revived the Democratic party and drew many of the independents back into the Republican party; while the more radical voters went over into the Greenback party.[199] The readjustment of party relations was made easier because of the fact that the Republican candidate, Mr. Hayes, was a western man forced upon the politicians by the reform spirit aroused by the western unrest[200] when they would have much preferred the more

brilliant Blaine. Another factor that influenced the return of Republicans to the party fold was the share of that party in the passage of the railroad law of 1874. That act was really the result of the joint efforts of the Anti-Monopolists and the Republicans. The Republican party was still a popular party and responsive to popular feeling; while the new party had but a brief life because its reasonable demands were taken over by the Republicans.

The agitation about the railroads declined after the passage of the act of 1874. Railroad regulation had been the chief issue of the Anti-Monopolists, and there had been general agreement that some kind of a law must be passed to satisfy the popular demand.[201] A strong effort to repeal the law was made in the legislature of 1876, but the railroads failed to convince a majority of the members that repeal was justified. The vote upon repeal in the House stood thirty-four for and fifty-eight against. There were those who favored absolute repeal, those who favored the law as it stood, and those who believed a more flexible law was needed. Feeling in 1876 proved still too sensitive to allow a change to be made.[202]

The real issue behind the Anti-Monopoly movement in Iowa from 1873 to 1875 was the recognition of the right of the State to regulate railroad rates in the interest of the people. There were other influences, but they were incidental to the main issue. Moreover, the national political situation complicated the local situation. The fiasco of 1872 with Mr. Greeley's candidacy seemed to justify much of the outward and formal contempt shown by the Republicans for the Anti-Monopoly party. Gen-

eral Grant's personal honesty and his failure as an administrator placed loyal Republicans in a difficult position. George William Curtis and Carl Schurz illustrate how differently good men might act under the circumstances.

The currency was a problem that divided people along *sectional* rather than party lines. Such a stanch Republican paper as *The Iowa State Register* could print the statement that "Bills of Congressmen, to give us forty or fifty millions more currency, is about like a miller in time of drouth trying to make his mill run . . . . by pouring into his mill dam a barrel of water. The people of this vast country need three or four hundred millions more money. . . . Let our Legislature . . . . stir up the lawmaking power at Washington, and thunder in their ears the great *need*, as well as the *demands* of the great West for more money." [203]

A Democratic paper declared that "there is certainly something wrong somewhere in the currency question. . . . We all know there is not currency enough in the country. There should be more. . . . The west wants relief. If it were the manufacturing interests in the east which were being cramped, the relief would go out from Washington very quick. But the great agricultural interests of the west seem to be divided up among too many people to have its influence felt." [204] Again the same paper declared that "this cry that increasing the currency thirty or forty millions of dollars, will create a speculating fever which will lead to another financial crisis is the merest twaddle. . . . We can't help believing that the agriculture interests of the west will be improved by an increase of the currency. And as what

benefits western farmers benefits western towns, we as a western man look with favor upon this attempt to give the country more money to facilitate business.'' [205]

Senator Thomas Mitchell of Polk County, a radical abolitionist, who kept a station on the ''underground railroad'', a Republican who left his party and was elected by the Anti-Monopolists to the State Senate in 1873, and of whom *The Iowa State Register* always spoke in the highest terms even after he had left the party,[206] stated in his announcement that he was not a candidate for Congress, that he was for the party that was ''most a Western party, and against any party of whatsoever name that proposes contraction, hard money, higher interest, more mortgages, and further injury to the West.'' [207]

The existence of sectional lines is shown also in the discussion as to Democratic nominations for the presidency in 1876. A Democratic paper declared that it would be a blunder to nominate a New York man and to make the currency the leading issue as New York wanted hard money first and a Democratic President as a second consideration. ''Such a ticket must have at its head a Western man. The platform cannot declare absolutely for hard money, and it would be worse than suicidal to favor inflation. It must declare for something better than either, to-wit, for Reform, Reconciliation, Rights of individuals, Personal freedom, an honest and economical administration of the affairs of the Government. With a Western man and such a platform the Democracy can sweep the country''.[208]

A feature of the Anti-Monopoly movement that has been overshadowed by its political aspects was the coöp-

erative buying and selling that was carried on to a very considerable extent while it was at its height. The rapid subsidence of political strength inevitably led to its discontinuance. What was actually accomplished and the larger plans are of interest and ought not to be overlooked by those investigating coöperative methods at the present time. They included "local, county, and state agencies for the purchase of implements and supplies and the sale of farm products, local grain elevators and coöperative stores, the manufacture of farm machinery, banking, insurance, and even organizations for bringing about direct trade between the American producer and the European consumer." [209]

These economic features were best developed in Iowa where a State agency was established at Des Moines in 1872. By January, 1874, this agency had handled $200,000 worth of machinery, and by direct shipment of stock, grain, and farm products to its representative in Chicago had realized larger profits. It also reduced the cost of farm supplies.[210]

"The most important attempt at manufacturing agricultural machinery" by the Grangers "originated in Iowa." In 1873 the State agent found it almost impossible to persuade the manufacturers of harvesters to sell at wholesale rates and some one proposed that the Grange manufacture its own harvesters. The Werner harvester patent right belonging to a Wisconsin man was purchased "for one thousand dollars and a royalty of two dollars on each machine manufactured", and arrangements were made to establish factories to produce harvesters for the different State granges. During the summer of 1874 about 250 of the machines were constructed and sold for "about half the prevailing price for

harvesters." Although the machines were good, and gave satisfaction in most cases, the State organizations found that they had lost money by the deal. The following year threats of suits for the infringement of patents caused the plan to be given up.[211]

The apparent success of the Iowa manufacturing experiment for a time led to the plan of having all the machinery used by farmers manufactured under the control of the Grange. For this design E. R. Shankland, the Iowa member of the executive committee of the National Grange, was chiefly responsible. Patents on all kinds of implements were purchased, some by the National organization and others by State organizations. No systematic plan was followed, and so careful testing of machines and patents was not always made. Extensive plans for a great variety of manufactures were made in Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky and in some places actual operations began. Usually funds were difficult to obtain; failures destroyed enthusiasm; and by the end of the year 1875 manufacturing plans had been largely abandoned.[212]

At one time the Iowa State Grange had three factories at Des Moines making plows and controlled three large establishments in other parts of the State. In addition thirty grain elevators scattered about in suitable places were owned by local organizations and run by salaried superintendents. Grain and other produce delivered to these elevators was shipped to market; and likewise supplies of many kinds were purchased at wholesale prices.[213]

The extensive business conducted by the State agencies required representatives in the great cities which were at once the markets and sources of supply for surrounding

regions. Arrangements were made with firms in Chicago to handle this business — sometimes independently and sometimes under bond to the State organizations. Later similar plans were carried out in San Francisco, Cairo, St. Louis, Memphis, New Orleans, and Wheeling. The Chicago firms handled business for Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, Iowa, Northern Missouri, Wisconsin, and Illinois.[214]

The Chicago Tribune for April 25, 1874, devoted nearly three columns to a description of the economic activities of the Grangers, in which was a list of the coöperative enterprises "projected and complete" throughout the South and West. These undertakings covered insurance, elevators, manufacturing establishments, grist-mills, pork-packing (at Muscatine, Iowa), and grange stores (five were in operation in Iowa).[215]

Grange agencies were the most successful form of business coöperation attempted. The total amount of business carried on throughout the country during 1873, 1874, and 1875 was "certainly enormous", and "very considerable savings" must have been effected.

Coöperative stores were established in the States of the Middle West in large numbers in 1874 and 1875. Most of them were short lived, but some were reorganized on the Rochdale plan; and a few, exceptionally well managed, continued in business for a number of years. "In Iowa, the Farmers' Exchange of Grinnell, which was started in 1873 with a membership limited to Patrons, survived the collapse of the order in that state, but was obliged to admit others to membership after 1878. The Rochdale system was never adopted in this store; but provision was made for limiting the voting power of

large stockholders, and, largely because of skilful management, the store continued to do an extensive business during the decade of the eighties."

As already indicated, Grange manufacturing outside of Iowa did not meet with much success. The attempts were an outgrowth of the activities of the agencies, but they involved the Grangers in serious difficulties and had to be given up.

Banking and insurance were other fields in which the Grangers proposed to operate; but the only State in which anything was done in banking during the seventies was California. Farmers' mutual fire insurance companies existed before the organization of the Grange, and they were especially suited to the purposes of the organization. Township or county companies were formed in every State in which the Grange was active. Life insurance also received attention, but does not seem "to have been as successful as fire insurance. It worked all right for a few years; but soon the death rate began to increase and then the membership generally decreased." [216]

PART III
THE GREENBACK PARTY

VIII

LABOR REFORM AGITATION

With the subsidence of the farmers' movement for the regulation of the railroads, there came into prominence the agitation in regard to the use of greenbacks. Whether the greenbacks should be gradually retired, or whether they should remain a permanent part of our currency, had been an open question since the close of the Civil War. Existing conditions in the country brought the matter to a definite issue after the crisis of 1873. The business depression lasted till 1878. Following as it did a period of business prosperity, based upon the abnormal situation resulting from the war, it produced the usual unrest and discontent. The lack of actual currency in circulation prevented even solvent enterprises from making payments in cash. Naturally, to the inexperienced observer the trouble seemed to be a lack of money. Pressure was brought to bear upon the government, to reissue the greenbacks which had already been withdrawn, and also to provide for an additional issue. The latter part of the demand took the form of the so-called "Inflation Bill" of 1874, which was vetoed by President Grant. The victory of the hard-money men in preventing further issues of paper was followed in 1875 by the Resumption Act, which provided for a return to specie payments by January 1, 1879.

In the West there was a general belief in the necessity and wisdom of the permanent use of the greenbacks.

Like all new and undeveloped communities, there was here a lack of capital compared with conditions in the East. The West believed that a larger circulation of money would remedy the situation. There was, in addition, further justification for the western belief in greenbacks, because they were the best money the West had ever known. Before the war "there had been little coin except fractional silver in circulation. The circulating medium was mainly the bills of wild-cat banks: the memory of that money was enough to make people think that greenbacks, attractive in appearance, difficult to counterfeit, and of the same value in every State, were good enough for any body." [217]

"The originator of greenbackism was Edward Kellogg, a merchant of New York. His book, *Labor and Other Capital*, was practically contemporary with Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Proudhon's *What is Property?* and also Louis Blanc's *L' organization du travail*, from which Lassalle borrowed his program. Each of these doctrines was formulated in the forties on the same theory of capital and labor, and each was caught up in the sixties on similar movements. After 1861 several reprints of Kellogg's book were published. Although more fanciful than its European contemporaries, greenbackism was more successful, for it left its permanent contribution to American political economy in the legal-tender paper currency. . . . 'Greenbackism' passed through two stages, the first, that of the National Labor Union, 1867 to 1872; the second, that of the Greenback Labor Party after 1873. . . . In this first stage of its career, the greenback theory was the American counterpart of the radicalism of Europe. . . . Only in politics and law was it American. It took its peculiar American

form according to the American stage of industry at the time and the American system of government."

Compared with the more extreme doctrines of monarchial and aristocratic Europe, "greenbackism was a doctrine of universal suffrage of wage-earner and farmer. The animus of the doctrine was the effort to take away from bankers and middlemen their control over government and credit, and thereby to furnish credit and capital through the aid of government to the producers of physical products. . . . This was to be done by making the bonds, bearing three per cent interest, convertible into legal-tender currency not bearing interest, and making the currency convertible back into bonds, at the will of the holder of either . . . . its significance lies in the fact that it captured the principal leaders of the wage-earners in 1867. . . . In 1870 the National Labor Union determined finally to organize an independent political party. . . . The political organization nominated in 1872 the first candidate of an American Labor Party for president of the United States, only to find that it had been made the tool of politicians in their struggle to control the ensuing nominations of the great parties." [218]

National labor congresses had been meeting since 1865. They were the result of influences that came from Europe, where Karl Marx and others were at work arousing the working classes to a sense of their importance and power. Labor agitation had assumed considerable proportions in Massachusetts at about the same time. Organization of labor had begun in many parts of the country, especially in the older portions where industry had developed to a considerable extent. The platform adopted at the Congress, held at Cincinnati in August, 1870, declared that the

laboring class was "suffering from a system of monetary laws", which, enacted during the war, were now "to be perpetuated in the interests of bondholders and bankers as a means to subvert the government of our fathers, and establish on its ruins an empire in which all political power shall be centralized to restrain and oppress the rights of labor, and subordinate its votaries to the merciless demands of aggregated capital."

The resolutions also demanded the abolition of the national banking system, and urged that "a true national currency", based on the wealth of the Nation, should replace the national bank notes and the greenbacks. This currency should be of paper, and full legal tender, "and convertible at the pleasure of the holder into Government bonds bearing three per cent interest . . . . the bonds likewise convertible into lawful money, at the option of the holder." The payment of the bonds in gold and their funding was opposed. Exemption of bonds from taxation was also opposed. Other items touched upon in the platform were the tariff, an eight-hour day for national and State employees, Chinese immigration, a department of labor at Washington, and public lands. "Protection of life, liberty, and property are the three cardinal principles of Government, and the first two more sacred than the latter, therefore, money for prosecuting wars should, ... be assessed and collected from the wealth of the country, and not be entailed as a burden on posterity." Finally, a resolution was adopted by a close vote recommending the immediate formation of an independent political organization to be known as the "National Labor Reform Party".[219]

In Massachusetts in 1870 there was a confused political situation, and the success of the Republicans was threat-

ened. There were four parties exclusive of the woman's suffrage movement. The Labor Reform and Prohibition parties were new, being composed chiefly of persons who had acted with the older parties, and who did not so much expect the success of their candidates as they hoped to induce one of the other parties to adopt their principles, or to found a party that would ultimately achieve success. Wendell Phillips was the candidate of both the new parties for Governor. The convention of Labor Reformers was held in September and was composed of 250 delegates. The platform reaffirmed the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and declared that associations of working men should have the same rights as associations of capitalists. Candidates were pledged to vote for a law prohibiting the employment of women or minors for more than ten hours a day. All schemes of repudiation were opposed, but the "speediest possible payment of the entire national debt" was demanded. Bank notes should be retired, and "legal-tender government notes as the best and safest currency the government ever had" substituted therefor. At the ensuing election Phillips received 21,946 votes for Governor, while the Republican and Democratic candidates received 79,549 and 49,536 respectively.[220]

A similar situation existed in New Hampshire, where there were Temperance and Labor Reform parties, in addition to Republicans and Democrats. The Republicans were in a majority, but the Democrats "possessed considerable strength and influence". The Labor Reformers held a State convention, to which no delegates were admitted unless they signed a pledge to support only the candidates of the party and to separate themselves from all other parties. The platform declared

that "labor is the sole creator of wealth, and money produces nothing". Repudiation was denounced, but a demand was made that the burden of taxation be equalized, and its payment should not be made in a manner that would cause the "rich to grow richer, and the poor, poorer". National banks were described as moneyed monopolies. Greenbacks were spoken of as the best paper currency we ever had, and their substitution for bank-notes was demanded. Other articles referred to the tariff, public lands, and a ten-hour day for women and minors in factories. The candidates received 7,363 votes, as compared with 34,424 for the Republicans and 24,992 for the Democrats.[221]

The National Labor Congress in 1871 adopted a platform, "upon which it proposed to appear before the country in 1872, as a distinct political party". After an introduction that gives reasons for the formation of a new political party, the statement is made that "our government is wholly perverted from its true design. . . . We need only point to facts. In this beneficent country of unlimited resources, with the land annually groaning beneath the products of human effort, the mass of the people have no supply beyond their daily wants, and are compelled, from these unjust conditions, in sickness and misfortune, to become paupers and vagrants. Pauperism and crime are the prevailing questions of all modern statesmanship, and it is with these we have to deal. How far these evils are connected with the abuses inflicted on labor, a superficial statesmanship seems not to perceive. Chattel slavery has been abolished, but the rights and relations of labor stand just where they did before emancipation, in respect to a division of its products. The difference lies only in the methods of abstracting the re-

sults and concentrating them in a few capitalists, who are now masters and dictators of the terms, and thus all labor is practically placed in the same condition of the slave before his emancipation. In thus placing it, the interests of all labor become common, and they must fight their battles in unity if they would succeed.

"What, then, are the instrumentalities by which these wrongs are inflicted?" These are described as (1) banking and moneyed monopolies, "the great central source of these wrongs, and through which all other monopolies exist and operate"; (2) consolidated railroad and other transportation monopolies; (3) "manufacturing monopolies, whereby small operators are crushed out"; (4) land monopolies; and (5) commercial and grain monopolies. The remedies proposed to deal with these evils are (1) the establishment of a monetary system "in harmony with the genius of the Government and adapted to the exigencies of legitimate commerce"; (2) the payment of the national debt and no funding; (3) the preservation of the public domain for "actual settlers and tillers of the soil"; (4) a tariff for revenue only; (5) "requiring in all future wars means necessary for their prosecution . . . . collected from the wealth of the country and not entailed on the future earnings of labor"; (6) "holding legislators to a more rigid accountability, by requiring the submission of the annexation of territory, and other fundamental laws affecting the general interest of society, to the vote of the whole people"; and (7) "the creation of a board of management of the currency and revenue, to consist of such a number of intelligent business men as may be necessary to transact the fiscal affairs of the Government, which board shall be charged with the execution of all laws relating to the collection of

and disbursement of the revenue and the regulation of the currency, and empowered to have the oversight of the clerical force and other officers and agents required in the discharge of all duties pertaining to this Department. The same rule is to be applied to the Post-Office and Interior Department as far as may be practicable, the Secretaries of the Departments to be presidents of such boards.'' [222]

In Massachusetts in 1871 the Labor Reformers held a convention, nominated candidates for State offices, appointed a State central committee and adopted a platform. Labor was declared to be the creator of wealth, and a willingness was expressed to accept the results of principles so radical ''as the overthrow of the whole profit making system; the extinction of all monopolies; the abolition of privileged classes; in extended rather than a restricted franchise; universal education and fraternity; perfect freedom of exchange, and the best and grandest of all, the final obliteration of that foul stigma upon our so-called Christian civilization — the poverty of the masses.'' The framers of the platform were aware that the goal could not be reached at a single leap. They declared war upon the wages system, demanded that every encouragement be given to coöperation and requested the same aid that had been extended to railroad and other enterprises. They recommended a ten-hour day for factory work as the first step and an eight-hour day for all persons employed at public expense. Whenever women were employed at public expense equal pay for equal work should be the principle. All public debts were to be paid at once and no more were to be contracted. Importation of coolies was denounced ''as only another form of the slave-trade''. The Labor Reform vote,

however, showed a great falling off from that of the preceding year. The candidate for Governor, E. M. Chamberlain, received only 6,848 votes, while the vote for Republicans and Democrats was 75,129 and 47,725 respectively. The Prohibitionists had separate candidates — their candidate for Governor receiving nearly as many votes as the Labor Reform candidate.[223]

The first national convention of the Labor Reform party was held at Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872. Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska, were represented. Edwin M. Chamberlain of Massachusetts was chosen permanent president and a platform of sixteen articles adopted.[224] David Davis of Illinois and Joel Parker of New Jersey were nominated for President and Vice President. In June, Judge Davis declined the nomination in a letter in which he said that "having regarded that movement as the initiation of a policy and purpose to unite various political elements in compact opposition, I consented to the use of my name before the Cincinnati convention, where a distinguished citizen of New York was nominated. Under these circumstances I deem it proper to retire absolutely from the presidential contest, and thus leave the friends who were generous enough to offer their voluntary support free to obey their convictions of duty unfettered by any supposed obligation. Sympathizing earnestly with all just and proper measures by which the condition of labor may be elevated and improved, I am, with great respect, your fellow-citizen". Governor Parker also declined a few days later. He expressed sympathy with the objects of the party, but as a member of the Democratic party for thirty-five years and elected to office un-

der its auspices, he felt bound to respect the nominations of the national convention.

As a result of these letters a conference of Labor Reformers was held in New York on July 30th, at which a convention of delegates was called to meet in Philadelphia on August 22nd to nominate candidates. At this convention Charles O'Conor of New York was nominated for President, but no nomination for Vice President was made. A resolution adopted declared that "we regret that our candidates have withdrawn from the canvass, for what reason we are utterly at a loss to know; that this conduct is such as meets with our disapprobation and leaves a suspicion on the reputation of those men that they were influenced in their action by the mercenaries of either Grant or Greeley." [225]

The Labor Reformers were active in local elections in three States in 1872. In Connecticut they made nominations for State offices and endorsed the platform of the Labor Congress of 1871. They also recommended an amendment to the federal Constitution limiting the President to one term.[226]

The Massachusetts Labor Reformers held a convention, but made no nominations. Considerable difference of opinion occurred in the drafting of a platform; but finally the following brief resolution was adopted as a compromise: "That the whole power and strength of the Labor party in this State is concentrated in the single issue of reducing the hours of labor for the factory operatives, and that we will not vote for any member of the Legislature who opposes this simple act of justice". Failure to make nominations may have been due to the fact that the Democrats and Liberal Republicans fused at this election and the latter adopted a strong labor

plank in which labor is declared to be "the creator of capital and is what originates the only valid title to the private possession of it". The government should give the laborer "the utmost facility honestly to acquire capital, by seeing that he is not unjustly or unnecessarily taxed, that he enjoys the best means of education and has the benefit of well managed financial and coöperative institutions, whereby his smallest savings of capital may earn the largest profit, and the doing of this is held to be the highest duty of the State."

General N. P. Banks presided over the Liberal Republican convention which met at the same time and place as the Democrats. A joint ticket was made up by a conference committee of the two conventions. Senator Sumner was nominated for Governor, but declined; and F. W. Bird was substituted by the State committee.[227]

In Pennsylvania the Labor Reformers held a convention and nominated State officers. A letter was read from Charles R. Buckalew, informing the delegates that he would stand as their candidate for Governor if the Democrats endorsed him. The ballot for nominees for Governor resulted in the selection of Wm. P. Schell who received twenty-nine votes, while Buckalew received twenty. A little later Buckalew was nominated by the Democrats.[228]

During the session of the Republican State Convention in Connecticut, in 1873, a delegation of Labor Reformers presented resolutions relating to the usury laws, a bureau of labor statistics, and the working hours of women and children in factories. These resolutions were referred to the committee on platform, which recommended no action upon the last two and offered a substitute for the one on usury. During the discussion of the report of

the committee a delegate proposed substitutes for the report that favored action along the lines asked by Labor Reformers, and these substitutes were adopted by the convention. The Labor Reformers also presented similar resolutions to the Democratic State Convention which adopted them.[229]

In Massachusetts in 1873 the Labor Reformers held a convention, but nominated no candidates. The chairman of the convention declared that it was not the object of the party to create an independent organization, but to force attention to the ten-hour law and such other State and national legislation as was necessary for the improvement of the condition of the people. A resolution was unanimously adopted in favor of supporting General B. F. Butler, who was making a second effort to capture the Republican nomination for Governor. A State committee was appointed and the principles of the party set forth in a long platform dealing chiefly with the ten-hour law and the record of candidates upon labor questions.[230]

Again, in 1875, the Labor Reformers in Massachusetts nominated Wendell Phillips for Governor and General William F. Bartlett (who was also nominated by the Democrats) for Lieutenant Governor. The attendance at the convention was very small and the discussions at times became heated. A resolution was adopted inviting the "delegates of all labor organizations throughout the land to meet us at Philadelphia on the 3d day of July, 1876, to confer together on the state of the nation, especially in relation to the national industry, and to devise such means as are adequate for securing justice to all classes of our citizens".[231]

The climax of the Labor Reform agitation came in connection with the great railroad strikes of 1877 which

extended through West Virginia, Maryland, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania where the worst outbreaks occurred, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri. Altogether three hundred lives were lost and one thousand persons injured and property to the amount of from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000 damaged.[232]

A contemporary account traces the political agitation connected with these strikes back to several different sources: (1) there had always prevailed a popular sentiment that labor deserved to be well remunerated; (2) "there was a wide-spread and bitter feeling against the railroad companies, and a desire that legal limitations should be set to their powers"; (3) "a general desire among the mechanical class that their order should be heard and felt in politics, though in what cause and for what ends they had formed no definite conception"; (4) "there were the social democrats, of whom every city contains a coterie; they are nearly all foreigners, Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Frenchmen, Italians, active minds, thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the French commune and the German social democracy." They used every opportunity to give "a politico-social" character to the events connected with the strikes. They drew up manifestos and made speeches at the meetings, but were not popular with the workingmen. As illustrations are cited a workingmen's party in Louisville, Kentucky, which elected several members of the legislature. Their platform renounced both parties and proclaimed the formation of a party composed of the industrial classes. Among their proposals were "courts of arbitration to decide in disputes between capital and labor . . . . [to] stop the employment of children under 14 years of age in factories or elsewhere, [to] establish

compulsory education . . . . [to] nominate no one who is not a laborer.'' In Ohio, a workingmen's State ticket was nominated upon a platform of a decidedly radical character.[233] In New York a quasi-political association issued a call for an independent labor party, addressing itself to ''trades-union men, labor reformers, Grangers and greenback men''. The program issued by a convention in Baltimore merely repeated the well known proposals of the European socialists. In St. Louis, also, the executive committee of the United Workingmen's party issued an address in which they seemed to require ''the regulation of wages by law''.[234]

In an article on ''The Railroad Riots of 1877'', Mr. Rhodes declared that ''from the close of the Civil War to the end of the century the gulf between labor and capital was constantly widening. . . . This tendency was much accelerated by the autocratic reduction in wages of 1877 and by the strikes and riots which ensued. It is true that victory rested with the railroad companies, but it was a Pyrrhic victory.'' [235] How far apart the two classes were is shown by comments upon the results of the strikes at the time. ''The property losses have to be made good by the taxpayers. The strikers have finally gone to work at the wages they refused. The dead are the only lucky ones in the entire affair''.[236] The same writer defines communism as meaning ''that when a man by industry and frugality has saved a dollar, the other fellow who by idleness and waste has saved nothing has the right to take it away from him.'' [237]

IX

ORGANIZATION OF THE GREENBACK PARTY

Coexistent with the Labor Reform agitation there developed a movement in the West that culminated in the formation of the Independent or Greenback party. As early as 1868 Geo. H. Pendleton, as a candidate for the presidential nomination of the Democrats, advanced the "Ohio idea", which was to pay the principle of the government bonds in greenbacks instead of in coin. At the national convention great enthusiasm was manifested by his supporters. They cheered for their "Ohio boy", whom they delighted to call "Young Greenback"; and a banner carried by them had the inscription "The people demand payment of the bonds in greenbacks and equal taxation. One currency for all." Some of the Republican leaders, like Thaddeus Stevens and Benj. F. Butler, hastened to "embrace the plan of paying the bonds in greenbacks", and even John Sherman "showed that he was influenced by the apparent strength of the movement."[238] President Grant's veto of the Inflation Bill and the passage of the Resumption Act committed the Republicans to hard money. The Democrats inclined to soft money, but never committed themselves fully as a national party to the fiat money principle.

Finally, in November, 1874, a national Independent party was formed at Indianapolis at a meeting held in response to an invitation issued by a convention of the State Independent party. The party calling the confer-

ence was the farmers' organization that had been active for the past few years; while the proposed national party came to be known as the Greenback party. The so-called Independent parties of Indiana and Illinois "took part in the formation of and became component parts of the National Greenback party in 1875 and 1876".[239]

The convention at Indianapolis was composed of about fifty persons representing New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, and Kentucky, in addition to the Indiana delegates. It was called to order by Mr. E. A. Olleman who read the resolutions of the Indiana State convention, proposing "that a committee be authorized to correspond with similar organizations in other States with a view to organizing a national party". Such action had been taken and the meeting had assembled (1) to consult upon the issue of an address, (2) to call a preliminary convention, and (3) to take steps looking toward a nominating convention in 1876. Hon. James Buchanan of Indiana was chosen chairman, and a committee was appointed to draft a declaration of principles. Letters were read from persons in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, and Iowa,[240] "all indorsing the movement for a party in favor of currency reform."

At the evening session Mr. Buchanan made an elaborate address, and after he had finished the committee on platform made its report. It appears that in this report the committee favored "a new political organization of the people, by the people, and for the people, to restrain the aggressions of combined capital upon the rights and interests of the masses, to reduce taxation, correct abuses, and to purify all departments of the Government . . . . [Moreover, it was declared that] the proper solution of the money question more deeply affects the material in-

terests of the people than any other one question, and that it directly or indirectly affects all other economic questions in issue before the people." The committee also recommended "a National convention of all the people who can agree to the foregoing financial proposition, to assemble in National convention at Cleveland, on the 11th day of Mar., 1875, to perfect a national platform and to appoint the time and place for holding a National Independent Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President."

A National Executive Committee was nominated with power to add to their number and to change the date of the preliminary national convention, if necessary. Robert Schilling of Milwaukee, R. F. Trevellick of Detroit, and A. C. Cameron of Chicago were among the members of this committee. Other prominent delegates were Alexander Campbell of Illinois, Alexander Troupe of Connecticut, Horace H. Day of New York and L. A. Wood of Kentucky.[241]

Hon. James Buchanan, "the political Moses of the 'New Party', the author of the 'Indiana Financial Plan' ", according to *The Chicago Tribune*, was a large man "weighing well nigh 300 pounds, and with an ability and shrewdness that compel respect, however much his theories may be ridiculed and abused." He was described as a lawyer "enjoying a comfortable practice and a fair reputation" before "he mounted a financial hobby early after the panic of September, 1873."

His plan was to have the government issue greenbacks direct and to have sub-treasuries or depositories in all the large cities where bonds could be exchanged for currency and then reconverted at the pleasure of the holder. The scheme had been introduced into the last Congress

by the Hon. Godlove S. Orth, at one time a very enthusiastic friend of the measure but who lost interest and allowed the bill to die. The bill comprised 416 pages of legal cap; and two expert penmen were engaged for more than a fortnight in copying it from the original text, with its marginal references.

Mr. Buchanan was the editor of *The Sun*, a weekly devoted to the interests of the farmers, which he had purchased to aid him in satisfying his ambition to become United States Senator. He believed the Independents would hold the balance of power and he hoped to be their candidate. Furthermore, Mr. Buchanan thought that the Independent party would elect the next President; and he interpreted the election of 1874 as an indication of discontent, especially with the existing financial system. The preliminary skirmish had been fought and the Republicans defeated; the next attack would overwhelm both old parties and the new one would come "into life and responsibility."

The new party was compared by Mr. Buchanan "with the Greeley movement of 1872"; and he declared that "the latter movement commenced with the leaders in the sanctums of a few editors, and culminated in a set-up game between Horace Greeley and Gratz Brown." The new movement began "with the people; leaders it has none; for the lack of proper guidance it has gone astray here and there; but it is from the people, and it will succeed in the end. . . . Some financial Henry of Navarre will come to the front, and, sticking a greenback in his hat, instead of a white plume, the cohorts of the people will march from conquering to conquer. This is the scene from a Buchanan point of view. Wanted, the Henry of Navarre." [242]

The Cleveland convention met as planned early in March, 1875, about sixty delegates representing twelve States being present. The more prominent delegates in attendance were Hon. Thomas J. Durant of Washington, D. C., Judge Alexander Campbell of Illinois, J. A. Noonan, editor of *The Industrial Age*, Robert Schilling of the National Coopers' Union, E. A. Olleman and James Buchanan of Indiana, Richard Trevellick of Detroit, and Professor Hooten of Centralia, Illinois. Preparations for the convention had been under the immediate direction of the Workingmen's Association, and considerable attention was given to the interests of labor. One evening session of speeches was devoted to labor reform. *The Chicago Tribune* referred to it as "the convention of Grangers and Laboring-men, otherwise known as the Greenback convention."

After permanent organization had been completed a committee consisting of one member from each State was appointed to draw up resolutions. The platform when reported was adopted first by sections and later unanimously as a whole. A committee of five was assigned the duty of preparing a plan for a central committee, and they recommended a committee of eleven members. The convention instructed the executive committee to prepare an address and to determine the time and place of meeting of the national nominating convention. The Cleveland meeting completed the organization of the new party which was regarded as having "its central power in Indianapolis, where dwells its expectant candidate for the Presidency." [243]

In March, 1875, a committee appointed by an Anti-Monopoly convention held at Philadelphia, selected the first Tuesday in September as the time and Cincinnati as

the place for holding a proposed national conference of representative workingmen and farmers. After five sessions of three hours each the conference adjourned. Only thirty-eight delegates were present out of two hundred who had signed the regular call. All the eastern delegates withdrew. The resolutions adopted declared in favor of protection, denounced special legislation which granted immunities to corporations at the expense of laboring classes, demanded the repeal of the Resumption Act of 1875 and of the national banking law, and that the government supply paper money directly — such money to be made legal tender for all debts, including duties on imports, and to be interchangeable for government bonds. Furthermore, power conferred on corporations must be held subject to the conferring power, large land-grants to corporations ought not to be made, and direct taxation and one term for the President were favored. Finally, a committee was appointed "to act with the national executive committee of Independents appointed by the Cleveland convention." [244]

Another Greenback convention was held at Detroit in August, 1875, upon the invitation of Moses W. Field of that city. Preparations had been made for a large attendance and the presence of leading men like Matt. Carpenter of Wisconsin, Wendell Phillips of Massachusetts, and Senator John B. Gordon of Georgia was announced. None of the prominent men appeared and the attendance was much smaller than had been expected. One report said that there were no large delegations from out of town, and that the laboring men out of employment comprised the main portion of those present. W. D. Kelley of Pennsylvania, James Buchanan of Indiana, E. P. Allis of Wisconsin, and D. A. Mahoney of Iowa

were among the more prominent Greenbackers present. Thomas J. Durant was the presiding officer and a list of twenty-seven vice presidents was read — fully one-half of whom did not appear at all.

The significant item in the series of resolutions adopted recommended "the organization of Greenback Clubs in every State of the Union for the purpose of carrying out the principles and measures set forth in the . . . . resolutions."[245] These clubs played a very important part in the Greenback agitation and came to represent that element of the party which was opposed to fusion with other parties. They were the successors of the farmers' clubs of a few years earlier, and the predecessors of the Populists' clubs of the nineties. The attraction of some people for and the opposition of others to a semi-secret organization have been a feature of our political and social life throughout our history.

In January, 1876, the workingmen of New York City held a very large mass meeting to urge lawmakers to take measures so that work may be obtained "by the tens, and hundreds of thousands in enforced idleness." Peter Cooper, who presided, said in the course of his address that justice and general welfare would never be established until "a true American system of finance" was adopted. The meeting also sent out to the workingmen of the United States an appeal which declared that contraction was responsible for business depression and that the remedy was a suitable currency supported by the credit of the whole country, while the national debt was to be put as far as possible in the hands of the American people and converted into bonds payable in currency and bearing a lower rate of interest.[246]

During the early months of 1876 State conventions

were held for the appointment of delegates to the national convention which was to be held at Indianapolis in May. The convention in Indiana contained representatives from forty-nine counties out of ninety-two. The delegates were instructed to vote for Senator Newton Booth of California for President.[247]

The nominating convention of the National Independent party assembled in Indianapolis, May 17, 1876, with two hundred and forty delegates present, representing eighteen States besides the District of Columbia. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota and Thomas J. Durant were temporary and permanent presiding officers, respectively. Moses W. Field was the "Wet Nurse and Director-General of the Convention", while R. F. Trevellick, "the great apostle of the new command, 'in the sweat of thy jaw shalt thou eat bread' ", and Hon. James Buchanan were other notable delegates.

Most of the afternoon and evening of the first day was devoted to a discussion about the voting of delegates, the object of which was to kill off opposition to Judge Davis and enable Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas, all well represented, with the aid of Indiana, to secure his nomination. This effort was bitterly opposed and "after an acrimonious debate of more than four hours" was finally given up.[248]

Peter Cooper of New York was nominated for President and Senator Newton Booth of California for Vice President. Senator Booth subsequently declined the nomination and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio, "a notorious champion of the fiat-money heresy", was nominated to fill the vacancy. The platform stated that "the Independent party is called into existence by the necessities of the people, whose industries are prostrated, whose

labor is deprived of its just reward by a ruinous policy which the Republican and Democratic parties refuse to change, and in view of the failure of these parties to furnish relief to the depressed industries of the country, thereby disappointing the just hopes and expectations of the suffering people, we declare our principles and invite all independent and patriotic men to join our ranks in this movement for financial reform and industrial emancipation.'' [249] Mr. Cooper ''accepted the nomination conditionally'', expressing in his letter the opinion that there was ''a bare possibility, if wise counsels prevail, that the sorely-needed relief from the blighting effects of past unwise legislation relative to finance, which the people so earnestly seek, may yet be had through either the Republican or Democratic party.'' [250] Moses W. Field of Detroit and Thomas J. Durant of Washington, D. C., were chosen chairman and secretary of the national executive council of the party.[251] William Allen of Ohio was mentioned as a candidate, should Mr. Cooper decline.[252]

Peter Cooper, the candidate of the new party, was born in New York on February 12, 1791, and was consequently eighty-five years old at the time of his nomination. He had had a varied career in business from 1812 to 1830, when he engaged in the manufacture of iron, first near Baltimore and later at Trenton, New Jersey, where he erected the largest rolling-mill for the manufacture of railroad iron which existed at that time in the United States. In 1876 these works had grown to be very extensive and were carried on by members of his family. His great object was to educate and elevate the industrial classes, and to accomplish this he established the ''Cooper Institute'' at a cost of $650,000, to which he afterwards

added an endowment of $150,000. Here at night there were held, free to all, regular classes on social, political, and technical subjects. These classes were attended by two thousand pupils, mostly young mechanics, who studied engineering, mining, metallurgy, chemistry, drawing, and practical building. There was also in the Institute a free reading-room and a library.[253] It is hardly necessary to remark that Mr. Cooper was a successful man-of-affairs as well as a philanthropist. Hence his nomination by the new party was a natural and creditable one, although there could be, of course, no serious thought or expectation of his election. His final acceptance of the nomination came on May 31st.[254]

Soon after the adjournment of the convention the national committee appointed Marcus M. Pomeroy, usually known as "Brick" Pomeroy, "chairman of the National Committee for Organizing Greenback Clubs". Two years later as a result of his work he claimed to have "chartered" nearly four thousand clubs, and the clubs and membership were said to be "increasing faster than ever before".

Besides the issue of a newspaper the club propaganda was carried on by Mr. Pomeroy by means of a series of tracts called "Meat for Men", "Hot Drops", etc. These documents were described by the "Honest Money League of the Northwest" — which had been organized in Chicago in 1878 to counteract the progress of "doctrines of inflation and absolute money" — as "communistic inflammatory and treasonable". According to the same authority they were "full of the charge of tyranny on the part of the Government, and conspiracy on the part of all Government officers to help the bondholders and 'money power' to rob the poor and laboring people; while at the

same time he [Pomeroy] is selling these vicious documents to the poor and laboring people at a profit of from 600 to 2,000 per cent above cost. They are illustrated with coarse, vulgar pictures, and are filled with the most villainous falsehoods, and advice to laboring men to get ready for secession, and to rob the banks and homes of eastern people, unless every bond is burned." [255]

Mr. Pomeroy was one of the many interesting characters brought into prominence by the Greenback movement. His designation as "Brick" came from a series of sketches of well-known Wisconsin men which he wrote for one of his papers and named "Brickdust Sketches". His work as a journalist in La Crosse, Wisconsin, was at first successful and he became one of the largest taxpayers in the county; while his paper had a circulation of 100,000. Always a radical he began as a strong Union man, but suddenly changed his attitude and denounced the military policy of the federal government. He removed to New York City and founded "Brick Pomeroy's Democrat" which gained a large circulation because of its sensational character. Both of his papers failed, and in 1875 he settled in Chicago, where in 1876 he undertook to edit a Greenback organ. To retrieve "his broken fortunes he grasped at all sorts of propaganda". He wrote much on money and personally organized 8,000 Greenback Clubs throughout the country. He was a Democrat until the nomination of Mr. Tilden, when he became a bitter opponent because of the influence of Tammany in the party. Moreover, he regarded Mr. Tilden as the representative of interests opposed to a paper currency and favorable to the resumption of specie payments. Marcus M. Pomeroy was "a curious blending of the elements of success and failure. . . . He had

a wonderful array of truths and half truths. . . . He lived and died misunderstood and in a large degree unappreciated.'' He died at Brooklyn, New York, on May 30, 1896.[256]

There was considerable activity among the Independents in various States during 1876. In Connecticut an organization of ''Greenback men'' was formed early in the year. They met in New Haven, some two hundred men being present — about one-half were residents of the city or its vicinity. They decided that in case both of the existing parties refused to accept its views, an executive committee should nominate candidates for State offices. Later another meeting was held, nominations made, and a platform of the usual sort adopted.[257]

In New York the first political convention of the year was that of the Greenback party. Its object was chiefly for organization and the expression of sentiments; and the resolutions adopted declared that the ''men who now assume to lead the Democratic party in this State are associated with and controlled by its great money and corporate interests'', and that upon this convention devolved ''the duty of perfecting an organization which will be Democratic in its character, and in harmony with the wishes of the people throughout the country, and the organization of the Democratic party in the Southern and Western States, where it is not controlled by money, as it has heretofore been in this State.'' It was also recommended that delegates be chosen to meet in State convention to choose delegates to the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis who were to ask admission as representatives of the Democrats of New York. A second convention was held in New York City in June, at which representatives were present from fifty-two out

of the sixty counties. Four delegates were chosen to the Democratic convention at St. Louis, and resolutions were adopted claiming admission for these delegates as the only duly authorized representatives of the Democracy of the State and the only organization not controlled by money. Still later a third convention met to nominate State officers.[258]

In the West there was also considerable activity among the Greenbackers. In Indiana they had put a ticket in the field early in the year, but later a second convention was held to fill vacancies. The usual resolutions were adopted in which they declared that they had "no faith in the professions of reform which come . . . . from the corporation thief and railroad wrecker representing the old Tammany *régime* of New York, and, ... from the organization which in national convention has indorsed the entire Administration of President Grant, not even excepting its stealings." Only six days before the election the candidate for Governor withdrew, giving as his reason the fact "that most of the Democrats in the Independent movement were secretly supporting the regular party candidates, and he did not consider it fair to the Republican party of the State to keep up the division." The vacancy was promptly filled by the State committee.

A letter written at Indianapolis in August, and addressed to Governor Hayes, gives an interesting view of the political situation from the Republican side. "There is an Independent party in this State, confined, it is true, to a few counties, but formidable, and it will defeat General Harrison. There is but one way to overcome this movement. The leaders of the Independents are poor, needy, and in debt. They must be lectured. Let docu-

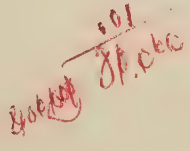
ments be placed in their hands that they may be convinced of their folly. A bloody-shirt campaign, with money, and Indiana is safe; a financial campaign and no money, and we are beaten.'' [259]

In Illinois the Greenbackers partially fused with the Democrats.[260] In Kansas the Republicans invited the coöperation of all men ''whether called 'Liberal' or 'Independent,' to whom 'reform' is something more than an empty name''. The Democrats made a separate nomination for Governor, and the rest of the ticket was made up by a coalition with the Greenback party.[261]

A great campaign meeting was held at Chicago in August at which Samuel F. Cary, the candidate for Vice President, was the principal speaker. The candidate for the Presidency, Mr. Cooper, also sent a letter regretting his inability to be present. He wrote that he had hoped that Mr. Tilden's letter of acceptance would have made it possible for him to withdraw; but he like Hayes was determined to continue the wrong policy in finance. At the afternoon session Cary made a two-hour speech in which he arraigned both parties and denounced especially the financial legislation of the last eight years. In the evening Cary addressed an audience of from 1,000 to 1,500 persons. There were other speakers and a torchlight procession at the close.[262]

As was to be expected, the election results in actual votes were insignificant — about 80,000 out of a total of over 8,000,000. Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, and Kansas were the States in the West where the Greenbackers received the most votes, varying from 17,000 in Illinois to 6,000 in Kansas. Massachusetts was the State in the East where they were strongest. Undoubtedly, the greatest practical influence of the new party was ex-

ercised in Illinois, where five Independent senators held the balance of power in the legislature and were able to bring about the election of Judge David Davis to the United States Senate in 1877. His election prevented him from serving upon the Electoral Commission and as a consequence probably prevented the seating of Mr. Tilden as President.[263] Judge Davis had been the candidate of the Independents, but he finally received the support of the Democrats. He was "rated as an Independent, but acts more commonly with the Democrats. He is understood to be in favor of remonetizing silver, and postponing the resumption of specie payments."[264] Some light is thrown upon the effect of the Greenbackers upon the old parties by the results in Indiana, where the total vote for the candidate for Governor was 13,213. Of this vote forty-one Republican counties cast 9,482 and thirty-six Democratic counties cast 3,731; of the remaining 15 counties which cast no Greenback vote 14 were Democratic and 1 Republican. "The total Greenback vote in the Republican counties was more than 2½ times as great as that in the Democratic counties." A Republican newspaper in Iowa, commenting upon these results, says "This is an excellent lesson for the Republican Greenbackers of the Northwest. They can thus see how the Democratic Greenback men stick to their old party predilections while inducing Republicans to throw away their votes."[265]



X

UNION OF LABOR REFORMERS AND GREENBACKERS

In 1877 there were indications of the coöperation of the Greenback and Labor Reform parties in several States. Wendell Phillips was the candidate for Governor in Massachusetts, and the remainder of the ticket was a joint one for Greenbackers and Labor Reformers.[266] In Pennsylvania also there was an alliance between the two parties where two noteworthy resolutions were passed by the Greenbackers, one of which favored guarantee by the general government of deposits of "surplus earnings of the people"; while the other declared that "the Common School system should be supplemented by a system of Industrial Schools." The United Labor party in this State also adopted some significant resolutions advocating (1) "compulsory education, and prohibitory laws with penalties attached against the employment of children under fourteen years of age in industrial establishments or workshops", and (2) "gratuitious education in all educational institutions; candidates for the higher course of studies in colleges or academies for the profession[s] to be selected for merit by competitive examination, irrespective of station or condition of life."[267]

In Ohio a split occurred among the workingmen by which a large part of the organization repudiated the action of its representatives. Later a conference was

held between the disaffected workingmen and the executive committee of the Greenback party, at which the latter agreed to withdraw their ticket and unite with the new movement, if their ideas of currency reform were accepted. This was done and a full ticket was then nominated. The results of the election showed that the two elements were nearly equal in voting strength.[268]

In all the States where they were organized, the Labor Reformers and Greenbackers were really two branches of the same party which was gradually being formed in the country to deal with the industrial and economic problems that the old parties were all too slow in taking up. From time to time resolutions crept into the platforms of either the Labor Reformers or the Greenbackers which indicate their relation to earlier or later movements. The Greenbackers of New Jersey declared the act "by which silver was corruptly, and against the wishes and welfare of the people, demonetized as a legal tender, was an outrage upon the rights and interests of the nation", and its unconditional repeal was demanded. "The cause of the late disturbances [railroad strikes] shall be removed, by the inauguration of a financial policy which will give money to productive industry, and full employment, at good wages, to labor, instead of an increase of the army".[269] In New York the Labor Reformers demanded the "gratuitous administration of justice in all courts" and that railroads "should be under the control and management of the State through which they pass, and that the transportation of freight and passengers should be done for the cost, as as near as possible, paying a reasonable interest to the stockholders, and providing for a sinking fund sufficient to keep the road and rolling-stock in good condition." They also favored

"a law for the protection of life and limb of employés in factories, or in the erection of buildings" and "the abolishment of tenement-house factories".[270]

In the East where there were the largest cities and the greatest industrial development the Labor Reformers were stronger; while in the West the conditions were favorable to the growth of a party that emphasized monetary and financial measures. Naturally the union of these two independent movements seemed eminently desirable to the leaders. Separately they were too weak to have much power. United they might form the nucleus for an Independent party that might hold the balance of power between the Republicans and Democrats, and possibly might mean the formation of a party strong enough to replace one of the older parties.

Finally, at a meeting held at Toledo, Ohio, on February 22, 1878, an alliance between the Labor Reform and Greenback parties was completed. Delegates attended the conference from twenty-eight States. The preamble to the platform adopted described the reasons for the union as follows: "the Independent Greenback and other associations, more or less effective, have been unable hitherto to make a formidable opposition to old party organizations . . . . assemble in national convention and make a declaration of our principles and invite all patriotic citizens to unite in an effort to secure financial reform and industrial emancipation. The organization shall be known as the 'National Party,' and under this name we will perfect, without delay, National, State and local associations to secure the election to office of such men only as will pledge themselves to do all in their power to establish these principles."[271]

A contemporary account described the meeting as com-

posed of "the friends of labor reform, those in favor of the postponement of the resumption of specie payments, and a large issue of greenbacks and many others". The same authority says that "the union of the Labor element with the Greenback portion brought to the latter grievances which have been deep-seated and long-continued, and which are beginning to attract the attention of civilized society." [272]

The platform declared that it was the exclusive function of the general government to coin money and regulate its value and to make it a legal tender for all purposes; that there should be no privileged class of creditors; that silver should be coined on the same basis as gold; that there should be an adequate supply of money, "fixing a minimum amount per capita of the population"; and that no species of private property should be exempt from taxation. Government bonds and money should be taxed and "a graduated income tax should be levied for the support of the Government and the payment of its debts." Then follow a number of articles referring to the public lands, encouragement of labor, monopolies, abolition of useless offices, economy in the public service and the punishment of unfaithful officers, reduction of hours, and more leisure for working classes for education and recreation. Next comes a demand for the adoption of an American monetary system to bring about fair and reasonable distribution, and to "muster out of service the vast army of idlers, who, under the existing system, grow rich upon the earnings of others, that every man and woman, may by their own efforts secure a competency, so that overgrown fortunes and extreme poverty will be seldom found within the limits of our republic". The last three articles urge the estab-

lishment of bureaus of labor by the State and national governments, the prohibition of contract labor, and the suppression of Chinese immigration.

Before the adjournment a dispatch was read from General B. F. Butler urging the convention to denounce the modification of the Silver Bill urged by the gold men and to pass anti-resumption resolutions. And so a resolution was offered and unanimously adopted denouncing the Silver Bill as a delusion and indignantly condemning it as a financial measure.[273] Eight hundred delegates were present; and while the word "Labor" was not officially incorporated in the name of the party, it was commonly referred to as the Greenback Labor party.[274] In May the executive council met in New York to devise plans for thorough and systematic organization in all the States.[275]

The greatest strength for an independent or third party movement manifested in the United States up to that time was in the year 1878. Only congressional and State elections took place; but they indicated a very remarkable growth in voting strength. The most accurate estimates give the new party the following votes:

1876	82,640
1877	187,095
1878	1,000,365 [276]

The reasons for this great increase are (1) the effect of the business depression beginning in 1873, (2) the unrest indicated by and also resulting from the great strikes of 1877, (3) dissatisfaction with the settlement of the disputed presidential election of 1876, and (4) the difficulties due to the contraction of greenbacks, the resumption of specie payments, and the coinage of silver. All of these influences tended to create in the country an

increasing number of persons who were willing to support a party that seemed inclined to take up some of the urgent questions neglected or mismanaged by the older parties. Candidates asked for support before election, but afterwards forgot Greenback and Labor allies. Hence actual results were much less than might reasonably have been hoped for from the size of the vote cast.

The States contributing most largely to the increased vote were as follows — the numbers indicating the order of the States based upon the size of the vote cast:

In the West		*In the East*
1 Iowa	11 Ohio	2 Massachusetts
5 Michigan	12 Wisconsin	3 Pennsylvania
6 Missouri	13 Kansas	4 New York
7 Illinois	14 Minnesota	8 Maine
9 Indiana	16 Nebraska	15 New Jersey
10 California		
Total in round numbers 508,000		Total in round numbers 350,000

The relative strength of the two main branches of the party are roughly indicated by the division of the vote between the East and West. These States comprise the major part of the total strength of the party. It is hardly necessary to note that all the eastern States, with the exception of Maine, are States where the industrial development was most advanced. The strength of the Greenback movement was, of course, in the States of the central West from Ohio to Nebraska.

The campaigns in the different States throw light upon the situation in different parts of the country. In Illinois in 1878 a convention met in January to demand the remonetization of silver. Late in March another convention nominated candidates for minor State offices and adopted the same platform as that drawn up by the

Toledo conference with a few additional resolutions, among which was one opposing "the employment of minors in shops and factories under fourteen years of age". Independent candidates for Congress ran in all but three districts out of nineteen, receiving votes varying from about 6,500 in three districts to 884 in one district. In nine districts additional to the three above mentioned, the vote for Independent candidates was from 2,000 to 4,000. In two districts Socialist candidates received 2,322 and 2,473 votes. In the legislature ten Independent and four Socialist candidates were elected.[277]

In Indiana the National Greenback Labor party declared fealty to the American monetary system, opposed resumption, and expressed hostility to government bonds. Furthermore, they denounced "the red flag Communism imported from Europe which asks for an equal division of property", and "the Communism of the National Banks, of the Bond Syndicates, and of the consolidated railroad corporations, which have secured and are enforcing an unequal division of property, having already divided among themselves ten thousand millions of the property of the people by corrupting the representatives and servants of the people. The one system of Communism ignores the inequalities of capacity which have been implanted by Nature in the human family, and both systems are destructive of the rewards of toil and of the incentives to industry and exertion."

Other articles discussed the reduction of the rate of interest; economical government; fair election laws; protection to persons employed in mines; the election of President, Vice President, and Senators by direct vote of the people; and the increase of the standing army.

Finally, they endorsed and reaffirmed "the platform of principles adopted at Toledo" and congratulated "the country upon the union of the political interests subserving the useful ranks of society in one party, which shall advance this decree of a higher and better civilization, and this oldest gospel — that there shall be work for all, and that all shall work." [278] Independent candidates ran in all the thirteen congressional districts. In one district the Democrats made no nomination, and here the Independent candidate was elected.[279]

The Michigan Greenbackers, in addition to the usual financial planks, demanded "the enactment of such laws as will best protect the industries of this Nation, and confer the greatest good upon the greatest number. Such legislation should be had that the number of hours of daily toil be reduced, leaving the working classes more leisure for mental improvement and social enjoyments, saving them from premature decay and death." They also "deprecate all efforts to redress wrongs by violation of law, and believe that through the ballot-box alone we must look for justice." [280]

In Ohio one article in the Greenback platform denounced "alike the Communism which demands an equal division of property and the infamous financial legislation which takes all from the many to enrich the few. We demand cheap capital and well-paid labor in the place of dear capital and cheap labor." [281]

Missouri Greenbackers, besides making the customary financial demands, denounced "the present system of convict labor", favored changes in the public school system for the purpose of establishing "mechanical and commercial schools in connection with the present schools", declared for the "improvement of all Western

navigable rivers", and urged that "the general government build, own and control the St. Louis and San Francisco railway". Furthermore, they demanded "the abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon labor and capital", and "the adoption of measures insuring health and safety to those engaged in mining, manufacturing or building pursuits." They opposed the introduction of Chinese labor and pronounced "against strikes, revolutions and all violent measures for the relief of labor." Finally, they invited "all patriotic and free citizens of this State who may subscribe to the foregoing resolutions to abandon all old parties and unite with us in establishing a new party of the people to deliver them from money and corporate despotism . . . . to inaugurate a system of American absolute money and to secure to the people and their posterity the blessings of civil and religious liberty".[282]

Maine was the eastern State where the Greenback party came nearest to success in gaining control of official positions. The State convention was composed of 782 delegates. Solon Chase, who was made chairman, declared that "the bottom is not knocked out of the party when we see men like James G. Blaine rocking the rag-baby. Inflate the currency, and you raise the price of my steers and at the same time pay the public debt. Resumption means falling prices and shrinkage of wages." Chase and "them steers" became famous in Greenback annals. Joseph W. Smith, "a respectable and successful man of business, who has been an active politician", was nominated for Governor. He had been a Democrat down to 1855, and a Republican since that time.[283] The platform opposed "the nomination for office of old politicians, especially those who have been for a

long time and are now in the employment of the Government''. The Greenback candidate for Governor received 41,371 votes; while the Republican candidate received 56,554 and the Democratic candidate 28,218 votes. In the legislature the House contained sixty-five Republicans, sixty-four Nationals, and twenty-two Democrats. Nationals were elected to Congress in two districts.[284]

Connecticut Greenbackers demanded that ''the Government at once establish postal savings banks, for the purpose of receiving deposits by the people for safe keeping, and loaning money to the people, on ample security, at a rate of interest not exceeding the actual expense of creating and loaning the same.'' They also advocated an income tax ''graduating upward, but leaving untouched all incomes under $1,000'', and ''a thorough reform in the system of public-school education, [as in Missouri] . . . . and that not less than one lecture per week be delivered upon the dignity of labor and its paramount importance in the affairs of men in every day life.'' [285]

A Greenback conference in New York reiterated ''hostility to the contract system in our penal institutions'' and deplored ''the distress caused our fellow-citizens in California and the West by the importation of servile Chinese labor into this country'', demanding that it be abolished by immediate legislation. This conference also urged that ''both National and State Governments establish bureaus of labor and industrial statistics, clothed with the power of gathering and publishing the same.'' Finally, it declared that ''we do not recognize or affiliate with any secret or questionable political organization whatsoever.'' [286]

In Pennsylvania the Greenbackers declared that while

the United States could support a population ten fold greater than the present, "nevertheless, with an enterprising, industrious people, after a series of abundant harvests, manufacturies are idle, business prostrate, labor unemployed and starvation impending. This condition of affairs has been produced by the control of the producing interests of the country by the non-producers, and by legislation in favor of non-productive capital and against the interests of the laborers of the country." They insisted that the laborer should be protected and conditions so ameliorated that he may "obtain the comforts and luxuries of life, and thus, by increasing consumption, open new avenues for industry and new fields for labor". Furthermore, they advocated "opening new fields for labor in the construction of works of National importance, either directly by the Government itself, or by rendering assistance; in no case to be in the form of subsidies, but all outlays of the Government to be adequately secured." Safeguarding the deposits in savings banks and trust companies was recommended, and "the passage and enforcement of such laws as will prevent all combinations, discriminations, or granting of rebates by transportation companies, and compelling the common carrier to furnish the same facilities and perform the same service for the same price to all men." [287]

XI

THE DECLINE OF THE GREENBACK PARTY

As in the case of all other independent parties, the Greenbackers showed their greatest strength in local and State elections. The elections of 1878 marked the highest point in their voting power: their success in national politics never indicated more than a third as much strength as was manifested in 1878. The only national election of that year was the choice of members of Congress. Fourteen members of the lower house were credited to the Nationals — three from Pennsylvania; two each from Iowa, Illinois, and Maine; and one each from Indiana, Missouri, Texas, North Carolina, and Alabama.[288]

In December, 1878, the central executive committee met at Washington and issued an address to the people, in which it called attention to the remarkable growth of the party in the last two years, declared that the real strength of the party was nearer 1,500,000 or 2,000,000, and maintained that there could be no doubt that a party which could develop such strength in two years would elect the President in 1880. Opposition to the money power was emphasized as the paramount purpose of the party.[289]

In March Mr. James B. Weaver acting for the executive committee sent to the Democratic and Republican members of Congress a letter in which names of candidates were given for whom the Greenbackers were will-

ing to vote for Speaker. This was done on the presumption that the nearly equal division of the House of Representatives would give the balance of power to the Greenbackers. The letter declared that the Greenbackers held "the balance of power, not only in the present House of Representatives, but in the States of Maine, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. In other words, in scarcely one of the Northern States has either of the old parties a majority." The letter was sent out at the time of the organization of the forty-sixth Congress in March, 1879.[290] The election of Speaker resulted in the choice of Samuel J. Randall, the candidate of the Democrats. James A. Garfield was the candidate of the Republicans and Hendrick B. Wright of Pennsylvania was the choice of the Nationals. The votes cast were as follows: Democrats, 143; Republicans, 125; and Nationals, 13. Thus the Democrats did not need the Independent votes, and the Republicans even with their votes could not control the House.[291]

Early in 1879, Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr, Congressman-elect from the Indianapolis district, was sent South on an extended tour to secure Greenback converts. Through letters to prominent Southerners he sought invitations to address legislatures. He was selected because of his former Methodist pastorate and because it was thought that he would have more weight than a professional politician. A Republican newspaper in Iowa described this trip as the first move of the Nationals in the campaign of 1880 and declared that it was to be followed by sending their ablest men to Maine the next summer. According to this authority, the Nationals would try to carry Maine, Vermont, Connecticut, Penn-

sylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.[292]

The most important activity of the Greenbackers in 1879 occurred in Maine, which had been solidly Republican since 1854. The Greenback candidate for Governor was Mr. J. W. Smith, who had also been nominated in 1878. The election resulted in the casting of 68,766 votes by the Republicans, 21,688 votes by the Democrats, and 47,590 votes by the Greenbackers. The law required a majority vote for election, and so the final decision was thrown into the legislature.[293] Charges of fraud in the election of Republican members of the legislature were made by their opponents. On the other hand, it was claimed that the Republicans were being robbed of victory by the Democratic State officials. The Governor and Council, acting as a board of review of election results, claimed that they were simply following the law in throwing out ballots without "distinguishable marks" or "fatally defective". The Republicans declared that their majority of seven in the Senate was changed to one of nine for fusion and their majority of twenty-nine in the House to one of seventeen for fusion, and that five Republican cities were without representation and were denied a new election.

Eight Republican senators and twenty-nine Republican representatives were refused certificates by the Governor and Council. They pointed out that there had not been so many "fatal defects" in fifty-nine annual elections and that almost all the defective ballots were for Republicans. The object, they said, was to be sure of Democratic officials who would do the same thing in 1880. Indignation meetings were held, and for a time rebellion seemed imminent. Finally, the matters at issue were

submitted to the Supreme Court for settlement; and that body declared unanimously for the Republicans. One of the judges was described as "a radical and life-long Democrat".[294] Whatever the exact results may have been, it is practically certain that the State had gone against the Republicans. The combined Democratic and Greenback vote for several years had been greater than the Republican vote.

In Massachusetts General B. F. Butler received the Democratic and Greenback nomination for Governor. He received 109,149 votes, while the Republican candidate received 122,751 votes.[295] After Maine and Massachusetts the States casting the largest vote for Greenback candidates in 1879 were as follows: Iowa, 45,549; California, 44,482; Pennsylvania, 27,207; New York, 20,286; Kentucky, 18,954; and Wisconsin, 12,996.[296] As only about twelve States held elections the vote must be regarded as that of an "off" year and can not properly be compared with that of 1878. The near successes of Maine and Massachusetts are indications that the Greenback movement was by no means to be ignored. The Greenbackers could not safely be regarded as simply "disgruntled Republicans who pass the time between Presidential elections growling and grunting and in 1880 will return to the banner of the bloody shirt and vote for Grant."[297]

A National or Greenback Labor conference was held at Washington in January, 1880, at which between 100 and 125 delegates were present in addition to the Greenback congressmen. Most of the delegates were representatives of State and local Greenback associations, with a few from trade and labor organizations. The personnel consisted chiefly of lawyers, editors, workingmen, and

farmers; and these men represented many different shades of political, social, and industrial reform. Their object was to determine the time and place for the national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. Chicago was selected as the place of meeting, and June 9th was named as the date. At the same time the editors present organized the Greenback Labor Press Association.[298]

In March a National Union Greenback Labor Convention was held at St. Louis. Twenty States were represented by 250 delegates. One of the leaders stated that this wing of the party had 10,000 clubs in working order and 2,000,000 voters in the country at large. "Brick" Pomeroy addressed the meeting; and thanks were voted Dennis Kearney of California, the Greenback congressmen, and other leaders. Ralph Hoyt was elected president, and Geo. W. Brewster of Iowa was made secretary. Mr. Hoyt made a bitter speech against other political parties and attacked President Hayes. An unsuccessful attempt was made to adjourn and unite with the convention which was to meet in Chicago in June. Stephen B. Dellaye of New York was nominated for President in spite of a telegram from him saying that he would not accept in opposition to the Chicago nominee. B. J. Chambers of Texas was nominated for Vice President; and amid great confusion it was finally decided to adjourn to meet in Chicago on June 9th. A sort of mass meeting of the delegates still in the city was held on the following day, at which meeting several members of the Women's National Suffrage Association were given seats upon the platform, and the president of the Association thanked the Greenbackers for the equal suffrage planks in their platform.[299]

The Greenback National Convention met early in June at Chicago in Exposition Hall. Among the delegates there were two separate factions. The "Pomeroy, Hoyt club or wing" met at Farwell Hall to emphasize the demand for a distinct Greenback candidate, and to express hostility to any compromise or coalition with the Democrats which they feared would be attempted by the convention at Exposition Hall. They decided finally to retain the club organization, but to unite with the Exposition Hall convention.

At the regular convention the committee on credentials reported 617 delegates and 244 others — including the Farwell Hall delegates. A minority report urging the exclusion of the latter occasioned a debate of some length. Confusion became so great that several sergeants-at-arms, with Dennis Kearney as chief, were appointed. Later a memorial from the Socialist Labor party was received, in which they asked representation in the convention in order to make common warfare against the money power, claiming to have 100,000 votes. On motion of Mr. Daniel P. Stubbs of Iowa, the convention voted to admit forty-four Socialist delegates and also the representatives of the Union Greenback Labor party. The Woman Suffrage Association asked for a suffrage plank, and Miss Susan B. Anthony was allowed to present the matter — Mr. Kearney alone objecting with the comment that "he had not travelled 2,600 miles to waste time in Chicago hearing the women talk." Two representatives of the Canadian Currency Reform League made addresses and brought the congratulations of the Canadian "Beaverback" [300] to the American Greenback party. Mr. Kearney also made a characteristic speech at one of the early sessions.

Gilbert De La Matyr of Indiana was temporary chairman and Richard Trevellick of Michigan permanent chairman of the convention at Exposition Hall; while E. H. Gillette of Iowa was chairman of the committee on resolutions. The platform contained the usual expressions of sentiment about money, bonds, and financial matters, together with numerous labor planks. It denounced the "action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations and monopolies, invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise." It demanded "absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress" and the "taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President." It asked "the coöperation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war upon classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, and largely over the press and machinery of government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property." By order of the convention, the committee reported an additional resolution declaring "that every citizen of due age, sound mind, and not a felon, be fully enfranchised, and that this resolution be referred to the States, with recommendation for their favorable consideration." The vote upon the adoption of this resolution was 528 for and 125 against.

An informal ballot upon candidates for the Presidency resulted as follows: J. B. Weaver of Iowa, 224½; H. B. Wright of Pennsylvania, 126½; S. B. Dellaye of New

York, 119; B. F. Butler of Massachusetts, 95; Solon Chase of Maine, 89; Edward P. Allis of Wisconsin, 41; and Alexander Campbell of Illinois, 21. Changes were made before the announcement of the ballot and General Weaver received the entire vote. Mr. B. J. Chambers of Texas received 403 votes and General A. M. West of Mississippi received 311 votes for the vice presidential nomination. Mr. Chambers was unanimously nominated and the convention adjourned.[301] General Butler had been talked of as a candidate by the Greenbackers; for it was thought that with him as a candidate the election would be thrown into the House of Representatives and that the Democrats would vote for him in preference to a Republican.[302] But it seems that General Butler was not ready to take the nomination: he did not even support the Greenback nominee, as it had been supposed he would.[303]

The Greenback or National party took an active part in the campaign.[304] General Weaver's letter of acceptance, dated at Bloomfield, Iowa, July 3rd, congratulated the convention upon the "unification of the various Greenback and Labor elements into one compact organization" which "prepares our forces to strike a decisive blow for industrial emancipation". The platform met with his "cordial approval. It is comprehensive, reasonable, and progressive". He believed it to be the duty of civil government to foster industry; but such a result could not be "realized until there is an adequate circulating medium . . . . its issue and volume should be sacredly kept under the control of the people, without the intervention of banking corporations." Furthermore, he declared that the system of funding the public debt like national banking "was borrowed from the Eng-

lish monarchy. . . . There is not the slightest excuse for funding these bonds, except to perpetuate the debt as the basis of an iniquitous banking monopoly. It must be apparent to all that the great moneyed institutions, and other corporations, now have control of nearly every department of our Government, and are fast swallowing up the profits of labor and reducing the people to a condition of vassalage and dependence. These monopolies, of whatever class, headed by the associated banks, are interlocked in purpose, and always act in closest sympathy. . . . The great problem of civilization is, how to bring the producer and consumer together. This can only be done by providing an adequate circulating medium, and by rigid regulation of inter-State commerce and transportation."

General Weaver denounced the donation of the public lands to corporations, while no legislation was passed to enable the poor to occupy a few acres. He favored immigration from Europe, but urged the prohibition of "Chinese servile laborers". He declared that "the Speaker is as much the dictator of the country as though he were an emperor, and ruling in the most despotic government on the globe. One of the grand missions of our party is to banish forever from American politics that deplorable spirit of sectional hatred, which, for base purposes, has been fostered by the leaders of the old parties. . . . Let us have a free ballot, a fair count, and equal rights for all classes . . . . to re-establish, in the administration of public affairs, the old-time Democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, and the pure Republicanism of Abraham Lincoln and Thaddeus Stevens." In closing his letter he observed that "the great avenues to public opinion — the press, the bar and the

pulpit — being mainly under the control of the enemies of our movement, your Convention thought proper to request its candidates to visit the various sections of the Union, and talk to the people. It is my intention to comply with this request to the extent of my ability." [305]

How faithfully General Weaver kept his promise may be inferred from a statement which he made in a speech at Des Moines where he asked for order because of the condition of his voice, which he had used for about one hundred days in the open air. He had travelled from Arkansas to the northeastern corner of Maine and from the east side of Lake Michigan to Mobile. He had made fully one hundred speeches, had travelled 20,000 miles, had shaken hands with 30,000 people, and had talked to 500,000 persons. The Greenback party having no telegraph service and no newspapers was compelled to spread its gospel by word of mouth. There seemed to be a conspiracy of silence on the part of the newspapers of the old parties. For three months he had been speaking to crowds of from 3,000 to 30,000 daily.[306] Occasional items in the papers describe Mr. Weaver as in Washington on his way "from Alabama where he has been on the stump for the past two weeks" to West Virginia for a ten day trip through that State. Early in September he spoke in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on his way to Maine. Later in the same month he spoke at Cooper Institute in New York.[307]

The Democrats tried the same trick on General Weaver as on General Garfield: they attempted to prove by a forged letter that he was in the pay of the Republican party. The letter, which was published in *The New York Star*, was addressed to E. H. Gillette under date of September 9th.[308] A Republican paper in Iowa defended

Mr. Weaver against the charges — declaring that he never made a fusion in which he could not dictate terms and that he made mistakes but never was considered corrupt.[309]

At the ensuing election 308,578 votes were cast for General Weaver. The States casting over 10,000 votes were: Missouri, 35,135; Michigan, 34,895; Iowa, 32,701; Texas, 27,405; Illinois, 26,358; Pennsylvania, 20,668; Kansas, 19,851; Indiana, 12,986; New York, 12,373; and Kentucky, 11,499.[310] It will be noted that only two of these States were eastern: the strength of the movement was in the West.

Soon after the election some of the more prominent Greenbackers of the Northwest met at the Palmer House in Chicago. During this conference a reporter of *The Chicago Tribune* interviewed General Weaver, who was one of the half dozen persons present. He declared Greenbackers had reason to feel proud of the result, as their vote had increased from 80,000 in 1876 to upwards of 300,000 in 1880. The falling off had been in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan. The Southern question had been used as an issue and had worked against the Greenback party. But that issue would not be raised again; and, as the Democratic party was dead, the Solid South would be broken up by the Greenbackers.[311] Later in the same month General Weaver issued an address to the "National Greenback Labor Voters of the United States" in which he claimed "near five hundred thousand votes". He appealed to them to reorganize for the next campaign.[312]

The discussions of the time "belittled the movement and sneered at those engaged in it." In a sarcastic vein a Democratic paper in Iowa suggested some planks for

the Greenback platform as follows: (1) "to all persons resident in the United States who have 'worked forty-eight years and are tired', there will be paid from" the United States Treasury $50 a month as long as they live, "such amounts to be assessed and collected from all voters between the ages of 21 and 48 years"; (2) that so much of the third chapter of Genesis as is contained in the words "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread till thou return unto the ground" be and is hereby repealed.[313] During the campaign of 1880 some paper money was printed in the form of $1,000 notes which were described "as absolute money, redeemable nowhere, in nothing, and by nobody. The law directs that this money shall circulate freely. When this note has been spent, another may be had upon application at the Treasury." [314]

That the movement was much more formidable and the men who took part in it were of much greater political consequence than these humorous references suggested, is indicated by a letter written in the early summer of 1880 by Senator David Davis in reply to a letter from Mr. O. H. Browning of Illinois, formerly Secretary of the Interior, asking his opinion upon certain points. In this letter Senator Davis declared that "great corporations, the rapid growth of corporate power and [the] malignant influence which it exerts, by combinations on the National and state Legislatures, is a well grounded cause of alarm. A struggle is impending in the near future between this overgrown power, with its vast ramification all over the Union, and a hard grip on much of the political machinery on one hand, and the people in an unorganized condition on the other, for the control of the government. It will be watched by every patriot with intense anxiety . . . . my support will be

cheerfully given to any candidate for President who in good faith will strive to carry out this general line of policy, which in my judgment is of far more importance than the ambition of any man, or even the success of any party." [315]

The election of 1880 was the third national election in which a third party had taken part. In 1872 an Independent, Judge David Davis, had been nominated, but later withdrew. In 1876 Peter Cooper, a wealthy business man, well-known for his philanthropy, was the nominee. He was a man long past eighty years of age and naturally could not make an active canvass. Consequently, the campaign of 1880 was the first in which the third party took an aggressive part. The candidate, General Weaver, who was an experienced and able speaker, was in his prime. He carried on a vigorous canvass, such as those with which the people have come to be familiar more recently in connection with Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt. Indeed, there is good ground for saying that General Weaver was the first candidate for the Presidency to make his appeal directly to the voter and to undertake to cover the country personally. In General Weaver the radical, progressive sentiment, the so-called "third party", according to our traditional method of describing such enterprises, found its first real leader. His place in the movement for economic and industrial reform looms larger as we are able to understand it better and to see it in its proper perspective. His service places him in importance next to Mr. Bryan and Mr. Roosevelt as a leader in the great movements which were so long regarded with amusement and contempt, but which are now beginning to be recognized as of fundamental significance.

In spite of the gain made in 1880 as compared with 1876, it was evident that the expectations aroused by the great vote of 1878 were not to be realized immediately. The hope of the formation of an independent party that would replace one of the old parties was plainly premature. The result was to increase the struggle within the new party itself, between those who favored fusion and those who would have nothing to do with the old parties. The more conservative and the more practical of the independents drifted back into their former party relations, leaving only a portion of the independent forces still aligned under that name. The results of these rearrangements were shown in the election of 1882 when, as a Republican paper in Iowa declared, there was "a landslide, a tidal wave, an earth-slip, or whatever you would like to call it." Democratic Governors were elected in California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nevada, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas; and these added to those already in office made up a total of twenty-four Democratic Governors in thirty-eight States. Only two Republican candidates for Governor were successful.[316] The congressional elections also resulted in a large majority for the Democrats in the House of Representatives.[317]

There were a number of reasons for these results, but without doubt one of the causes was the fusion of many of the independents with the Democrats. As in 1874, the passing of the apparent power of the independents is to be explained by their absorption into the Democratic party, or, what is the same thing, their support helped the Democrats to become temporarily the majority party. A partial failure of the crops in 1881, a renewal of labor

troubles, and dissatisfaction with Republican administration contributed to the numbers of discontented who voted against the dominant party.

Another influence that worked against the continued growth of the Greenback party was its supposed sympathy with the beginnings of socialism in the United States. In 1880 there had been an attempt to arouse hostility against them by calling attention to the admission of Socialists to the Chicago convention; and General Weaver was criticised because he wrote a letter approving of the "Socialistic land resolution" of the Greenback party.[318]

After the assassination of President Garfield, a Republican newspaper in Iowa declared that "for ten years the snake of the Commune has been trailing its insidious poison through the lower orders of society in this nation. . . . It grew up first in the dark and noisome places of New York City. . . . One particular political party, a fungus growth of that part of the public mind which grew morbid during the late hard times, has aided perhaps unconsciously but none the less wrongfully and criminally in popularizing its wrongs and condoning its crimes." [319] A Democratic paper in the same State described "the principal agitators", in a threatened renewal of labor strikes, as "the French Commune exiles, who ought to be hung, since they are uneasy under any form of government and are the reckless teachers of false doctrines." [320]

Dennis Kearney's agitation in California and his identification with the Greenbackers also aroused the fears of many. He was referred to by his opponents as "the San Francisco communist" [321] and as developing into "a violent revolutionist"; [322] while his friends, after an ad-

dress in Faneuil Hall, adopted resolutions in which he was referred to as the "great and efficient apostle of the laboring classes of California, who comes . . . . for the noble purpose of uniting them, as he has united their brothers in his own State".[323] "His agitation", as Mr. Bryce points out, "was essentially the same as that which has appeared in the Western States under the forms of Grangerism, the Farmers' Alliance, and Populism, an effort to apply political remedies to evils, real or supposed, which are mainly economic rather than political, and only a part of which legislation can remove." [324]

Early in 1882 newspaper items began to appear to the effect that the Greenback party was dead.[325] At the same time references were made to efforts to revive it by some of its leaders, and General Weaver was described as "very active. He has written letters to various leading Democrats in the South and West, proposing a coalition between the Greenbackers and the Democrats, and offering, in substance, to carry over the remains of the former organization to the Democrats." If the Democrats would endorse the principles of the Greenback party, arrangements might easily be made about offices. Many rumors about such a coalition were heard in various quarters.[326]

During the same period there were reports of a meeting of Greenbackers at St. Louis to consult regarding a call for a national convention. Nearly a whole day was said to have been consumed in discussing the platform — due to differences between the contending wings of the party. The platform invited "all members of land leagues, farmers' alliances, trades unions, anti-monopoly leagues, producers' organizations, Knights of Labor, and all other industrial organizations and good citizens, who believe in the foregoing statement of principles, to unite

with us". A national committee with members from twenty-four States was also elected.[327]

A new Anti-Monopoly agitation began to attract attention in 1881. An article in the *Atlantic Monthly* in March of that year described the Standard Oil monopoly which had come to control the production and price of petroleum. The article formed the beginning of the study which later was published in book form with the title of *Wealth against Commonwealth.* Mr. H. D. Lloyd, the author, was one of the first to discern the dangers resulting from the growth of great industrial combinations — what we have learned to describe as the "trust problem". In the same number of *The Iowa State Register* that contained an extract from the *Atlantic Monthly* article, there was an editorial on government control which referred to the "cry for Government control of pretty much everything of any special size in the business world. . . . All sorts of demagogues are utilizing the new cry to their own uses." [328]

An extreme view of the political situation in 1883 is suggestive as to actual conditions. The writer declared that "there is not one public man living to-day in the United States whose name is a watchword and whose voice is a slogan. . . . Among the republicans mention a republican in connection with the presidency and if the testimony of the majority be accepted, he will be declared fitter for the penitentiary. . . . Suggest a nominee for the same high office . . . . to a group of democrats . . . . and half of the company will declare . . . . they'd never vote for him. . . . The business of the hour is time serving. The spirit of the age is to keep what you have got and to get all you can. . . . The country is full of haughty Arthurs,

bosses of the Conkling type, statesmen of the Tabor stripe, monopolizers of the Gould instincts and politicians who have no higher conception of government than to secure lucrative offices, at the public expense for their henchmen. . . . The story of the congress which has just ended its disgraceful career does not appear to startle the country. . . . How could it [Congress] be otherwise with a rich insolent lobby guarding every door way to the capital, giving exit and entrance only to the infamous and the claim agents master of every department of government. After all the people have themselves to blame for this state of affairs. They persistently refused to take their political business into their own hands. . . . To be sure they are moving but very slowly. . . . As usual, the 'outs' are not agreed upon a plan of attack, and the 'ins' are well housed and happy." [329]

A call had been issued for a conference at Chicago on July 4, 1883, to form "a new political party to espouse the cause of legitimate industry in the irrepressible conflict already entered upon between the confederated monopolies and the people." A national convention of the Anti-Monopoly party was held at Chicago on May 14, 1884, at which representatives were present from seventeen States — eleven of which were western and six eastern.[330] The platform which was adopted urged the regulation of commerce among the States by the federal government — including the "giant monopolies" that controlled "transportation, money and the transmission of intelligence." The other subjects referred to in the statement of principles were bureaus of labor statistics, arbitration of labor disputes, an eight-hour day, contract labor, election of United States Senators by direct vote,

a graduated income tax, a tariff in the interests of the people, grants of public lands, and the encouragement of agriculture. In conclusion an appeal was made "to the American farmer to co-operate with us in our endeavors to advance the National interests of the country, and the overthrow of monopoly in every shape when and wherever found." General Butler was nominated for President upon the first ballot, while the nomination of a candidate for Vice President was left to the national committee.[331]

The Greenback party held a convention in Indianapolis at the end of May. General Weaver was permanent chairman and Mr. Gillette was a member of the committee on resolutions. A dispatch was sent to General Butler asking him if he would accept a nomination on a satisfactory platform. He replied by asking why such a question should be put to him. "Is not my record as a Greenbacker for twenty years sufficient without a formal pledge to you which would cause me to be pointed at as a man who bids for the nomination?" Butler was nominated upon the first ballot, receiving 323 votes to 98 for Jesse Harper of Illinois. E. P. Allis of Wisconsin and David Davis of Illinois each received one vote, while Solon Chase of Maine received two. Butler's nomination was made unanimous, "though there were a number of hisses and crys of 'No, No'." General A. M. West of Mississippi was nominated for Vice President by acclamation. A platform of the usual kind was adopted. One article asked for the "reduction of the terms of Senators", and another favored a wise revision of the tariff, although "as an economic question, its importance is insignificant as compared with financial issues".

On June 12th General Butler replied in a letter con-

fined almost entirely to the subject of greenbacks; but he said nothing about accepting the nomination. He was then acting with the Democrats in Massachusetts, and he afterwards attended their convention in Chicago as a delegate at large but opposed the platform and candidate. On August 12th he published a long statement, addressed to his "constituents", in which he accepted the nominations of the Anti-Monopoly and Greenback conventions, advocated the consolidation of all the elements of discontent into a "People's party", advised fusion with the minority wherever there was a chance of gaining by it, and explained to the Democrats of Massachusetts his reasons for leaving them.[332] The address was described as issued earlier than he had intended "at the desire of many trusted and valued friends", although he believed, the "people's campaign should be a short, sharp, and decisive one, and should not be begun . . . . until some thirty days later".[333]

General Butler's candidacy was one of those unusual incidents that attract attention: the spectacle of the millionaire lawyer as the candidate of the workingmen led to his denunciation as a demagogue. He himself is reported to have said that "he had belonged to the Democratic party till it attempted to destroy the Union, and was with the Republican party till it deserted its founders, the laboring men. The capitalists now hold the Republican party bound hand and foot. Hayes has violated every pledge and betrayed the negroes of the South. The effort of Grant's administration to strengthen public credit was a swindle." [334]

The facts of Mr. Butler's career were that he had been a Democrat before the Civil War, and in 1853 had been a member of the lower house of the State legislature of

Massachusetts where he helped to pass a law reducing the hours of labor from thirteen to eleven. He had also been elected to the State Senate, and had been the Democratic candidate for Governor in 1860. After a brilliant but stormy career in the army, he became, during Grant's administration, one of the influential advisers of the President. He was a member of Congress from 1866 to 1878 — except for two years. In 1871 he was the Republican candidate for Governor of Massachusetts and in 1878 and 1879 he was the independent Democratic candidate for the same office. In 1882 he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, and in 1883 he was defeated for reëlection. Soon after the close of the Civil War he had advocated the continued use of greenbacks and endeavored to turn the Republican party in that direction. President Grant's veto of the Inflation Bill and the passing of the Resumption Act forced Butler out of the party. He loved excitement and sensation; he was able but unscrupulous. At the same time, he seems to have been a consistent believer in the wisdom of the use of the greenbacks; and throughout his career he believed himself the friend of the workingman. His successive candidacies for Governor, lasting from 1860 to 1883, came to be regarded as a joke, and many people said that in 1882 they voted for him to give him his wish and to get rid of his persistent candidacy.[335]

An editorial in *The Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1874 described Mr. Butler as "ejected from the Democratic party and booted out of the Republican . . . . he now threatens to open an opposition establishment by starting a new party. . . . He is the Mephistophiles of American politics."[336]

At the time of his death in 1893 *The Iowa State Regis-*

ter of Des Moines declared "that with the death of Benjamin F. Butler one of the most picturesque Americans passed from among the living. He was a great man, a rugged mental Titan who has filled a large place in the thoughts as well as the affairs of the American people. The strong qualities in him were so numerous that they overshadowed the many eccentricities and little weaknesses that marked his career. . . . After the war Mr. Butler won distinction as one of the greatest of American lawyers. . . . While he was alive we could not all agree with him, but now that he is dead, we can all agree in paying him the tribute which is due him as a great and original character in American political history." [337]

The Review of Reviews spoke of him as "always a radical, who appealed to men's discontent. He was a shrewd criminal lawyer, and he was counted as somewhat unscrupulous. Yet he had his brilliant and his noble qualities, and he was a man of intense democratic instincts in an environment of intellectual, moral and social aristocracy." [338]

President Judson of the University of Chicago gave perhaps the most discriminating judgment when he said that General Butler "cannot be dismissed as a mere demagogue. . . . Before we can judge of his real weight and meaning in our political development we must know more of the issue of that radical movement to which he gave coherence and a considerable impetus. The historian who looks back a hundred years hence may assign Butler a very different place as an actual force in politics from that we should now be inclined to give him." [339]

XII

THE GREENBACK PARTY IN IOWA: THE PERIOD OF GROWTH

The Greenback party in Iowa grew out of conditions that were typical of those under which the movement arose in the States where it was strongest. Those conditions were almost entirely agricultural, without the industrial developments that influenced the movement in the older communities. The new party arose out of and absorbed a good deal of the Anti-Monopoly party, and it represented a continuation of the general discontent with existing conditions. It was a better organized effort to meet the economic problems that were forcing themselves upon the attention of the people, and which were trying to find a place for themselves in the organized political life of the country. Some of the leaders in both of the older parties recognized the need of conciliating these elements, but they were unable to modify party programs sufficiently to satisfy the demands of the discontented. The Democratic party, hopelessly in the minority in the State, was naturally most open to such influences. The Anti-Monopoly party had been an adjunct of the Democratic party, and the Democratic leaders had taken advantage of it to regain some degree of political strength.

The nomination in 1876 of Mr. Hayes by the Republicans and Mr. Tilden by the Democrats satisfied many of the discontented voters, whose interest was chiefly cen-

tered upon better and more economical government. On the other hand, both Mr. Hayes and Mr. Tilden represented those hard money principles, coupled with the resumption of specie payments, that were especially obnoxious to many people in the West where the need of more capital for local development gave rise to the opinion that more money in circulation per capita would relieve their wants. Although the Democratic party was permeated with the greenback or fiat money idea, some of the leaders, like John P. Irish, were bitterly hostile to the notion. Consequently, the party as an organization was never allowed to go far enough to satisfy the strong greenback sentiment in the State. As *The Iowa State Register* said of the Democratic State Convention of 1876, "the greenback men had control of the Convention, but the wily leaders of the party had control of them." [340]

"The Independent party of Iowa", as it was designated in the preamble to the platform, was formed at Des Moines on May 10, 1876. The attendance at the convention was estimated at from twenty to fifty — according to the fairness and accuracy of the paper making the report. "The personnel was extremely respectable, consisting, ... of men of prominence and of former political influence. The proceedings were reasonably harmonious, although apparently lacking enthusiasm. One delegate . . . . announced that he was 'a sorehead Republican', otherwise the membership was mainly of former Democrats and Liberals." [341] The leaders were Republicans, tired of the corruption of their own party, who preferred a new party rather than to unite with the Democrats.[342] The platform declared the financial question "the paramount issue of the present cam-

paign, in which the Democratic and Republican party leaders have failed to take the side of the people''. Resolutions were adopted favoring the repeal of the Resumption Act, the issue of government notes, and the withdrawal of all bank notes. Delegates to the national convention and members of a State committee were chosen.[343] The Iowa delegates cast twenty votes for Peter Cooper as the presidential nominee of the party.[344] Among the delegates were John Wiseman of Washington County; Samuel Sinnett, who was temporary and permanent chairman of the State convention and chairman of the State committee; A. C. N. Dawley of Webster County; T. E. Harbour of Guthrie County; and Daniel Campbell, J. B. Weaver, P. C. Welch, and H. C. Hargis — the last four being district delegates.[345]

A State convention was held at Des Moines in September to nominate candidates. ''Some thirty or forty delegates'' representing about twenty counties were present — most of them from ''Counties nearly neighboring'' to Des Moines. The convention ''while small . . . . was lively and frequently turbulent — although nearly all the time good natured. The character of the delegates was fair, and among them were quite a number of gentlemen of good record and considerable public prominence.'' Discussion turned upon the question of fusion, some delegates urging that the Democrats should be asked to withdraw their electoral ticket and unite with the Independents. Other delegates bitterly opposed all compromise, declaring that they would not play second fiddle to any one. No vote was taken, but the opposition to fusion was shown in the selection of candidates. Chairman Sinnett of the State committee

advised that the election be fought in congressional districts, as the State was overwhelmingly Republican, and there was no hope for success in that direction.[346]

Mr. Samuel F. Cary, candidate for Vice President, made a speech at Des Moines in November, and a "Cooper and Cary Club" was formed at Bloomfield.[347] The total vote cast for Greenback candidates was 9,436 — about 3% of the total vote. Polk County contributed 476, Taylor and Union each over 400.[348]

The Greenback State Convention in 1877 met at Des Moines on July 11. Eighty-seven delegates were reported present. A Republican editor described it as a "queer mixture of men. . . . There was a goodly number of right good men. . . . There were also a goodly number of the real representatives of the farming and laboring masses. . . . But these more excellent elements . . . . were not the noisy nor yet the conspicuous members". The author of the platform was described as a failure as an instructor in an Iowa institution, removed about the time of the Granger excitement, who had joined that movement and later became a greenbacker. Daniel P. Stubbs, the candidate for Governor, was a lawyer and at one time a member of the State Senate, who has "always been active in politics, and has always had an itching for office." He was formerly a Republican, but left that party with Mr. Greeley in 1872. The only other person known to the State was Judge Porter of Eldora who was candidate for Supreme Court Judge. He was formerly a district judge and also a Republican — until successive failures to secure a nomination for Congress and an exasperating factional quarrel in his county led him to leave the party. "His nom-

ination is a fair one, — and much the best and most appropriate on the ticket." [349]

The railroad strikes throughout the country in 1877 influenced the campaign in Iowa as in other States. Some experience at Burlington, Council Bluffs, and Ottumwa aroused the fears of the conservatives and the Governor issued a proclamation against violence. In July, George W. Jones made a speech at the courthouse in Des Moines at a mass meeting to offer sympathy to the strikers in the East, in which he declared that "if fire and blood are needed to give men their rights let fire and blood come". He was described as an "arrant demagogue and arch hypocrite", and as an employer who is "one of the most grinding and illiberal" in Des Moines.[350] Later he presided at a meeting in Des Moines at which Mr. Stubbs, the Greenback candidate, spoke. His inflammatory speech was referred to and he was spoken of as "the chairman of the Greenback State Committee, and the editor of an obscure Greenback organ of limited circulation . . . . nor can the Greenback party in Iowa, which numbers in its membership many respectable gentlemen and good men, afford to stand sponsors and endorsers for Jones's murder and mob arguments in a time of extreme public peril, as it is doing by retaining the fellow as the Chairman of its State Executive Committee." [351] At this meeting there was "a good sized assemblage" and "a reasonable degree of enthusiasm", although the fact that "Blood and Thunder Jones" presided did not have a reassuring effect upon the more conservative part of the audience.[352]

The nature of the campaign against the Greenbackers is suggested by various comments upon the candidacy of

Mr. Stubbs. One refers to "record proof" of the way in which he had bought a poor man's home for $35 on a tax-title and had sold it for $3,500 in cash. Since his exposure as a tax-title shark and railroad attorney, his supporters were described as getting ready to withdraw him. Fusion with the temperance forces was declared to be under consideration if they would endorse Greenback theories.[353] The *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye* described the Greenback platform as promising "an era of high wages, lots of employment, high prices for wheat for farmers, cheap flour for the mechanic, high prices for cattle for the stock raiser, cheap beef for the workingman, lots of money, low interest, and good times for everybody but contractors, manufacturers, railroads and bankers, who are to be very poor and have no money to pay their hands." [354] The *Daily Press* declared that "the vote cast for the Greenback candidates in Iowa is a fair census of the men hopelessly in debt." [355]

Any hopes for fusion with the Democrats were dissipated by the action of the State convention of that party which was held at Marshalltown in August. John P. Irish was nominated for Governor by acclamation, and the prevailing opinion seemed to favor a straight party ticket.[356]

The election resulted in 34,316 votes for the Greenback candidates — almost four times the number cast in 1876. The Republican vote showed a falling off of 50,000 and the Democratic vote of 33,000. The Prohibitionists received over 10,000 votes. Seven counties gave over 1,000 Greenback votes each, and three Greenback representatives were chosen from as many counties. The Greenback vote was about fourteen percent of the total vote.[357] Mr. Gear and Mr. Irish carried their own counties, while

Mr. Stubbs was decidedly in a minority in his home county, receiving only 576 votes out of more than 2,800.[358] In spite of the growth of the Greenback vote, its opponents declared the party to be "unquestionably as dead as Julius Caesar."[359]

Just at this time the silver question was prominently before the country through the debates in Congress over the issue of the silver dollar. How monetary problems cut through party lines is shown by the opinions of John P. Irish among the Democrats and of the Clarksons among the Republicans. Irish declared that the *New York Tribune* "had labored and sweat to make a sectional party issue of the silver question, when the truth is, the light dollar, like the greenback cheat, has found its fondest friends amongst Northern and Western Republicans. In all New England no Democrat as prominent as Wendell Phillips or Gen. Butler has ever advocated greenback or silver inflation . . . . In Illinois Logan led and the *Inter Ocean* followed the grand army of greenback inflationists, while in Iowa Senator Wright was the author of currency views contrasted with which those lately expressed by Dan Voorhees are the opinions of a gentle bullionist. Now comes the Republican Governor of Iowa . . . . for the unlimited coinage of unlimited legal tender silver. Nothing more clearly shows the bond of sympathy between the greenback and silver inflation notions. In 1874 this present Republican Governor of Iowa [John H. Gear] was speaker of the lower House of the Iowa Legislature, and there favored the wildest schemes of the greenbackers . . . . The Press is not proud of the attitude of Democrats upon the currency question, but it is none the less capable of honest disgust at the Republican claim of super-soundness, when that

super-soundness means in the East hunting with the hard money hounds, and in the West running with the soft money hare.'' [360] Again, Mr. Irish refers to newspapers that talk about ''sympathy with the people'' as having taken a contract to nominate David Davis and as meaning by the phrase ''dishonest or ignorant false teaching upon the currency question.'' [361]

The Iowa State Register, in commenting upon the passage of the Silver Bill by the Senate, declared that that body ''has finally complied with the popular will of the Republic and performed its duty. . . . It is gratifying to recall the prominent part the State of Iowa has taken in this movement for the restoration of the double standard. The Iowa Republicans, in their convention last June, were the first to declare unequivocally for remonetization.'' [362] The same paper described the message of President Hayes vetoing the Silver Bill, as sounding ''more like the argument of a Wall Street circular, or the editorial of a Boston newspaper.'' Again, it said that the veto was ''the one thing alone that President Hayes could have done to render himself completely unpopular with the Republicans of the West. . . . Had the silver bill been killed by the vote of Hayes, the Republican party would have been swept down in the West nearly to its death. . . . But the bill lives . . . . and the restored silver dollar . . . . has rolled on to its legal place under the Constitution by the side of its gold brother. There is where it belongs.'' [363]

Iowa was represented at the Toledo meeting in February, 1878, where the Greenback and Labor Reform forces united to form the new ''National Party''. Samuel Sinnett was one of the vice presidents and J. W. Muffly one of the secretaries, while Daniel Campbell was made a

member of the executive committee composed of one member from each State, James B. Weaver of the committee on resolutions, and L. H. Weller of the committee on credentials.[364]

The Greenback State Convention for 1878 met at Des Moines in April. It was made up of about one hundred delegates representing a little over one-third of the counties of the State. The absence of the leading men who were present the year before was very noticeable and a sore point with the members. "Weaver, Stubbs, Eastman, Ballinger, Welch, Merritt, Matthews, Porter, Kinne, nor any of the stronger men in the Convention last year were [present] . . . . with the exception of Mr. Hoggatt and Mr. Sinnett scarcely any gentlemen in the lot who are known outside of their counties." *The Iowa State Register* described the meeting as "the diminished gathering of a waning cause"; while the chairman of the State committee in his speech calling the convention to order said that "the opposition to the Greenback party were openly boasting that they would spend one hundred million for the purpose of defeating the Greenback candidate for the Presidency." To meet this opposition he recommended that each member be assessed ten cents a month for campaign expenses. The question of the party name was dodged and the platform was described as of the "National State Greenback Party of the State of Iowa." It was generally understood that the author of the platform was Leonard Brown, "who is the brains and leader of the party in this part of the State". The platform was referred to as "a curiosity. But perhaps it is all that it could be made — since it had to be framed so as to cover and appease the views of the original and genuine Greenbackers, the Bourbon Democrats, the Na-

tionales, the Communists, and the other elements making up the motley crew''.[365] There was evidently considerable dissatisfaction with the convention among the leading Greenbackers, for the *Dubuque Daily Telegraph*, ''the leading Greenback paper of the State'', is quoted as saying that ''not more than a third of the counties of the State were represented'', and as describing the State committee and general management of the party as ''a set of mutton heads''.[366]

The Iowa State Register referred to Leonard Brown as ''an honest, earnest man, and a patriot and a sincere friend of the Union and the Union soldier'', in connection with a resolution offered in the convention of ''Nationales''. He proposed a resolution for the enactment of stringent liquor laws.[367]

The discontent and unrest connected with the railroad strikes of 1877 influenced the campaign of 1878. An editorial in *The Iowa State Register* referred to an interview with the editor of the two chief organs of the Socialist Labor party in New York City under the heading of the ''Commune and its avowed objects''. It went on to say that the leaders there talked as ''Fire and Blood'' Jones did in Des Moines during the railroad strike. ''There is a taste of the same thing in the Greenback State platform adopted this year, and there is no doubt that many of the members of that party hold these purposes of the Commune to be the final purpose and programme of the party here in Iowa and in the nation at large. Indeed some of the men who were delegates in their late State Convention, and helped in making the platform, have since openly avowed themselves to be Communists. The honest but deluded men in the party ought to see what is now the plain tendency of the organ-

ization. Further proof of it is found in the secret meetings now being held all over Iowa and in this Congressional District. As fast as it can be, the Commune is being organized from the headquarters in New York. The New York leader, in the conversation we quote today, speaks for many in Iowa, and it is time our people were beginning to realize the situation and the serious face that it is taking on." [368]

In a letter to the editor of *The Iowa State Register*, a writer who described himself as "traveling a great deal in Iowa this spring and summer, — much of the time in the little towns and farming country", said that he had been "surprised by the number of secret meetings being held in nearly every County that I have been in. These meetings are held at night, generally, — and about once a week. They are very secret and exclusive, and the members have pass-words, signs and grips. I have understood that these were Greenback meetings, and some of the members of that party say they are, while others declare they are not. Since the appearance of the Commune and the alarming demonstrations it has been making, I have wondered if these meetings have not some connection with that — and if, indeed, they are not composed of the radical or Commune element of the Greenbackers or Nationals. The fact that the more respectable members of that party deny and disown these meetings, suggests the query if they are not held by the wilder and really desperate members of the organization. . . . It would be wise for the Iowa public to know what these secret meetings really are, and what they are for. That they are being held is established fact, and well known to many people." [369]

Since only minor State officials were to be elected in

1878 the most important contests were waged in the congressional districts. There was considerable opposition to fusion — principally among the more extreme and less experienced Greenbackers — and this fact probably accounts for the noticeable absence of leading men from the State convention. Greenback sentiment was strong in both of the old parties, and the far-sighted men saw a greater possibility of success through fusion than by independent action. Their influence is seen in the congressional nominations made by the Greenbackers. In July, out of eight nominees in the nine districts, they had selected former Republicans. Only one of these refused to accept the honor.[370]

The successful candidates for Congress, General J. B. Weaver and Mr. E. H. Gillette, were the principal figures in the campaign. General Weaver had left the Republican party in 1877. He regarded it "as having sold out to the bond holding and gold interests". He had not abandoned "his convictions as to slavery, and the war, but regards that as *finally settled* . . . . he is fully satisfied with Hayes' management and policy as to *home rule* in the South . . . . if elected, he expects to labor for a reform in finances, and will co-operate with such men as believe, with himself, in regard to finances". He was a Democrat before the Civil War and had always been opposed to a protective tariff. "He is not an extremist on currency, does not believe in unlimited inflation, and thinks we ought to have an increase of currency, either by full silver coinage or more greenbacks". He was opposed "to the creation of a perpetual national debt."[371]

General Weaver was quoted as saying that he was a Greenbacker two years before he left the Republican

party.[372] Before his election the *Colfax Sentinel* declared that there was "not a worse old demagogue in the State than this same Gen. Weaver." [373] After the election *The Iowa State Register* said that "the election of Gen. Weaver is not so objectionable as that of Gillette, for the General has far more to commend him personally, and much more to fit him for service in Congress, and is in every respect more a man of honor." [374] Again, a week later the same paper compared results in Maine and Iowa. "The result in Iowa is a striking coincidence with that in Maine. Two Republican Congressmen were lost here as there. And there, one of the two Greenbackers elected is a man of good record and honor personally, and with the qualifications of integrity and capacity to fit him for Congress . . . . the other, much like Gillette here, is an avowed Communist, a dishonest agitator . . . . the Kearney of Iowa." [375]

Mr. Gillette seems to have been the special object of attack during the campaign. Nothing seemed too bad for his opponents to say of him. Perhaps this fact was partly to be explained by his residence in Des Moines, where he was constantly under the observation of the able editor of *The Iowa State Register*. Commenting upon his nomination, that paper stated that he had not lived long in Des Moines, but had "alternated for ten or fifteen years between caring for his Government bonds in the East and his swamp lands in the West". The explanation of his nomination was that "having plenty of money . . . . he is anxious for some new diversion and greater notoriety." His fortune was made "as an officer and large partner in the American Emigrant Company, of fragrant fame. The methods and usages of that company many people in Iowa, and many counties in

Iowa, know all too well. Its exploits in Swamp Land corners on unsuspecting counties are stories of thrilling interest, and will make fine material, and be a perfect magazine of ammunition, for the campaign. . . . Mr. Gillette is a gentleman and a good neighbor, an elegant gentleman indeed — a gentleman of leisure and means — a gentleman, if you please, of the exquisite sort, such as Iowa has not yet had time to raise many of. The only samples which it has of such gentry and statesmen just now it has had to borrow direct and ready made from Boston." [376] Another editorial in the same paper asks "Is Mr. Gillette a Communist?" [377] And another notes that he has not yet told why he is going to "emancipate" the workers in a coal mine, owned by a "soulless corporation", who are "getting fifty per cent higher wages than the workmen in his own tile and pipe works." [378]

The *Daily Press* at Iowa City also expressed strong disapproval of Gillette, declaring that the nomination was made in spite of the opposition of one-third of the delegates, who refused to vote on the final ballot. "A secret caucus had already arranged to overpower the protesting element". Mr. Gillette was introduced and accepted the nomination in a "speech unremarkable except for the high flown rot about 'England and Wall Street' to which Brick Pomeroy gives far more eloquent utterance." [379] Again, the same paper declared "that truckling to communism in Iowa taints the party with suspicion in close Districts in other States", and may result in the defeat of enough Democratic candidates to lose the next House and the next President, "giving both to the 'common enemy' to whom Greenbacker Gillette occasionally alludes." [380]

In all the congressional districts, except the two in

which Weaver and Gillette were nominated, all three parties had candidates. In those two districts Democrats and Greenbackers fused, in spite of the opposition of hard money Democrats like Mr. Irish and the more extreme among the Greenbackers. About a month before the election, a fusion upon the State ticket was arranged by which four candidates were given to each party. Candidates for Secretary of State, Treasurer, Register of the Land Office, and Reporter of the Supreme Court were assigned to the Greenbackers; while candidates for Auditor, Attorney-General, Supreme Court Judge, and Clerk of the Supreme Court were filled by Democrats.[381]

Election results in 1878 can not be compared with those of previous years because of this fusion. The conspicuous successes were the election of Weaver and Gillette to Congress. The votes for Greenback candidates in the remaining seven districts ranged from slightly under 4,000 to over 12,000. Gillette received 16,474 votes, compared with 15,546 cast for his Republican opponent; while Weaver received 16,366 votes, compared with 14,308 cast for his opponent. In the fourth, fifth, eighth, and ninth districts the Greenback candidate stood next to the successful candidate.[382]

Commenting upon the results, *The Iowa State Register* declared that "the result proves that the theory of fiat money . . . . has had a fascinating effect upon the people of this and the Sixth districts. The first returns being from the cities and towns, were very favorable to the Republicans. The country townships, as a rule, have gone wild after the new fancy. It is a passing and temporary fever. But it has wrought its work this year." [383] The same paper expressed the opinion that it was "a pity for the Greenbackers and their cause that Hoggatt was

not elected [in the 9th District] . . . . for he is pre-eminently the most representative man that that party and its principles have in Iowa. The Greenback party of Iowa will never be fully bodied forth to the people in its real character and its actual identity till Hoggatt is made Congressman and Leonard Brown, Governor. For as these two gentlemen were the founders of the party in Iowa and have been its ablest champions, so are they in their lives and characters its fittest Iowa representatives." [384] Hoggatt was a member of the "famous Anti-monop Legislature — made up of Reformers with big R's." [385] The *Daily Press* said of Hoggatt: "Old Hoggatt is so ugly he sours milk when he looks in the pan. He is . . . . honest as Cincinnatus, and remorseless as belly ache." [386] And again, "it is said that when old Hoggatt, who scared poor Carpenter out of ten years' growth in the 9th District, looks at his majority of 600 in Carpenter's home county of Webster, he could sit for a photograph of the cat who said 'Ha! ha! I've eat the canary!' " [387]

A "Greenback Conference", called by the State committee, met in Des Moines in December. There was a discussion over fusion; a majority were opposed to it, but a direct vote was avoided. Among the noisiest speakers against fusion was Mr. Hoggatt. The conference lasted all day and in the evening a public meeting was held at the court house. Messrs. Hoggatt, Weaver, Gillette, J. B. Welch, Leonard Brown, P. P. Ingalls, and Sam. Sinnett made speeches. Mr. Weaver said that clubs would be formed in every township in Iowa for the next campaign. Organize was the motto.[388]

Another account of the same meeting says that "but

few members of the party [were] present and but few invited" — and those were of the class who favored fusion. A State chairman was elected from "outside of the committee . . . . to get a man they — Weaver, Gillette, Sinnet & Co. — could control." They repudiated the call for a national convention in March — which was declared to be "the prime object" of the meeting. The same account stated that "nearly five hundred clubs in this State . . . . are the mainspring and backbone of the Greenback party of Iowa and the nation. . . . We do not want and will not have any Toledo fraud; we do not want and will not have any man or men who recognize that platform. So far as I have talked with the Greenback voters of Madison county, and I have talked to hundreds, they denounce the council at Des Moines as a fraud, a cheat, and a swindle".[389] A letter from E. M. Farnsworth of Decorah, who was the candidate for Secretary of State upon the fusion ticket in 1878, also described the meeting as made up mainly of people from the Weaver and Gillette districts. Weaver and Gillette are described as Democrats in whom the writer had no confidence.[390]

In February, 1879, discussion began about candidates for the State election of that year. The *Iowa People*, the Greenback organ of Iowa, contained several paragraphs and letters mentioning Samuel Sinnett, Leonard Brown, E. N. Gates, and D. N. Campbell — all farmers. *The Iowa State Register* remarked that this was the usual talk of the party before the campaign. When it came to nominating the ticket, however, "some fancy gentleman, from some one of the professions, and who is a new convert, and never did any of the hard work of the

party, or some renegade Democrat, is chosen". For instance, Mr. Brown was talked of for Congress the year before, but Mr. Gillette was chosen.[391]

In March a meeting was held at Des Moines to express approval of the course taken by Weaver and Gillette, but this meeting was "slimly attended and a rather tame affair." Speeches were made by James Embree, H. S. Wilcox, J. W. Muffly, and Rev. P. P. Ingalls.[392] About the same time another meeting was held at Newton, where Mr. Ingalls was the principal speaker. A correspondent of *The Iowa State Register* declared that the speech was "the worst specimen of communism and cheap demagoguery ever delivered in Jasper County." [393]

A sidelight is thrown upon political conditions by an article in *The Iowa State Register* which was reprinted early in April from the *Fort Dodge Times*. The *Times*, referred to as the leading Greenback paper of the ninth district, announced the resumption of its place among Democratic papers because "the old Republican ring whose defeat two years ago made Webster county the banner Greenback county of Iowa, has taken possession of the new party in this county and diverted the principal financial resources of the party to the support of a professed Greenback paper, originally started, fed and fostered by the ring".[394]

At the Greenback State Convention, which met in Des Moines late in May, two factions developed — one favoring the payment of government bonds in legal tender notes, and the other advocating the payment of such bonds in lawful money, gold, silver, or greenbacks. The hard money group won, and the Wapello County delegates withdrew. Later a resolution of a similar character was offered — endorsing Pomeroy's Chicago platform

— and when this was rejected a second group of delegates seceded and met at another place. Dissension also occurred over fusion with the Democrats — a number of members of that party, including the candidate for Governor, being active before and during the sessions in urging its advantages upon the delegates. Judge John Porter of Eldora brought up the proposition, which was also favored by Leonard Brown. Finally, however, the sentiment prevailed "that nothing less than death" should remove a candidate from the ticket.[395]

Sixty-nine counties were represented, while thirty were unrepresented. General Weaver was praised and proposed as the Greenback candidate for President in 1880. While waiting for the report of the platform, Mr. Hoggatt made a speech, addressing members of the convention as "fellow slaves" and praising Kearney as a "noble patriot. . . . He claimed to be, and was proud to be, a Communist after the order of the Commune in France. . . . Communism in France was Socialism in Germany, trades-unionism in England, and Greenbackism in America."[396] On the informal ballot for Governor the results were as follows: P. P. Ingalls, 143¾; M. H. Moore, 94; E. M. Farnsworth, 12¾; Daniel Campbell, 230; and H. H. Trimble, 2¼. When the vote was announced all candidates withdrew, save Campbell who was then chosen by acclamation.

The principal difference of opinion in the convention seems to have been in regard to fusion. The candidates nominated were satisfactory to most of the delegates, but the platform caused serious trouble. One group refused to endorse the Chicago platform, and as these men dominated the convention and shaped the platform, they aroused opposition which led to the secession of about

fifty delegates — who claimed to represent 60,000 members of the "chartered clubs of Iowa, who had organized under Brick Pomeroy". Fundamentally, the controversy waged about the advantages and disadvantages of independent party action. The articles in the platform instructing the State committee not to "place on the ticket the names of any person or persons who are identified with either of the old parties" were adopted "enthusiastically, showing the feeling strong against fusion." [397]

Press opinions of the convention throw some additional light on the political situation. *The Iowa State Register* notes that "most of the men of brains who were conspicuous in the convention one or two years ago were absent this time. But it is also true that this convention was more thoroughly representative of what the party claims to be, the party of workingmen . . . . and of farmers with mortgages on their farms, than any it has ever held." Mr. Hoggatt and his speech were referred to as typical of the sort of men who composed it. "The ticket is a fair one." Mr. Campbell was probably their strongest man. "He is said to be a good man. So, too, is Moore, the nominee for Lieutenant-Governor. He is an ex-President of a national Bank, and only got to be a Greenbacker when he got hard up. Jones, for Supreme Judge, is not so bad. But the chief supreme virtue of the ticket is that Ingalls has no place on it." [398]

Efforts were made to bring about fusion through the nomination of Mr. Stubbs for Lieutenant Governor on the Democratic ticket. Some people believed that he was really nominated, but Mr. Irish and his friends claimed that the ballot was informal; and although the chairman, Augustus C. Dodge, ruled it formal, the convention voted it informal and Stubbs' name was withdrawn. The

vote was said to have been two hundred and forty-four for Stubbs and one hundred and ninety-one for his opponent. *The Iowa State Register* said that the "only thing done of any political significance was the severe snubbing it gave the Greenbackers." [399]

In the month of August another convention was held at Marshalltown to complete the "Union Greenback Club Organization in the State of Iowa". *The Iowa State Register* said that it did "not know what this means unless it be the call of the Brick Pomeroy Greenbackers of the State." Thirty-three delegates were present, and there was no indication of independent nominations, but rather a disposition to harmonize the two factions and inaugurate a more radical policy for 1880. After a warm discussion the Pomeroy element prevailed by a two-thirds majority. A resolution was adopted for a five-cent assessment per month per member — which upon a membership of 70,000 would give a campaign fund of $42,000 per year. A State committee and a State missionary were chosen. Charters were to be issued in strict conformity to the regulations made by the chairman (Pomeroy) of the national Greenback club organization.[400]

Various comments made during the course of the campaign suggest that there was considerable difference of opinion as to results. In August *The Iowa State Register* remarked that "in nearly every local paper in the State there are weekly announcements of honest Greenbackers returning to the Republican ranks". [401] An interview with General Weaver in September quoted him as saying that the next President would very likely be elected by the House where the Greenbackers held the balance of power. The "great guns" of the party were

coming to Iowa to help the Greenbackers increase their vote. Among those expected were Solon Chase and Congressman Murch of Maine, De La Matyr and James Buchanan of Indiana, and "Old" Jesse Harper of Illinois.[402] It was said that Weaver and Gillette had decided against fusion. Weaver estimated the Greenback vote at 75,000; and he said that the Greenbackers would carry the South.[403]

The election results in 1879 were: Gear, 157,571; Trimble, 85,056; and Campbell, 45,429. Thirteen counties gave one thousand or more votes to Greenback candidates: these were Jasper, Marion, Madison, Mahaska, Taylor, Polk, Webster, Howard, Warren, Union, Dallas, Davis, and Fayette. The vote for Governor — 45,429 — was the largest ever cast for a Greenback candidate in Iowa and represented the high water mark for a third party up to that time. Two State senators were chosen from Wayne and Appanoose counties, and five representatives from Davis, Webster, Appanoose, Adams, and Howard counties.[404]

XIII

THE GREENBACK PARTY IN IOWA: THE PERIOD OF DECLINE

Two expressions upon monetary questions during the winter of 1879-1880 are interesting in throwing light upon the situation. *The Iowa State Register* declared that "we are opposed to the retirement of the greenback, or the withdrawal of its legal tender quality, and we shall oppose the nomination of any man for the Presidency who is in favor of such retirement or demonetization." The editor was willing to accept Grant, unless he approved the Hayes-Sherman crusade against the greenback, and he believed that he was "reflecting the wishes of the great body of Republicans in Iowa, and of the whole West . . . . the Republicans of Iowa are opposed, nine out of ten, to the anti-Greenback movement, and to any man who is to be the candidate of its faction for the Republican nomination for the Presidency." [405] The *Iowa State Press*, on the other hand, called upon Congress to "lose no time in providing for real resumption by repealing the legal tender act. The Democratic party is in the majority in Congress. Let its representatives read the papers and they will find that even in Iowa a majority of the party press favors the abolition of the legal tender. It is true that this will drive the Greenbackers and Republicans into alliance, but that is what we want. It is time to act from principle and the highest principle demands that we regain the ancient and tra-

ditional ground we have lost in alliances which never gained us a vote."[406]

Early in May *The Iowa State Register* declared that the Greenbackers were melting away rapidly because of prosperity. "In one township, in a neighboring county, a canvass has been made of the Greenbackers, by the vote of two years ago, and out of forty-seven . . . . thirty-two declared themselves done with it . . . . twenty-seven of them being Republicans."[407] Again, the same paper, referring to Greenback fusion with the Democrats, remarked that "of course [they] are ready for the fusion. They have so dwindled in numbers in Iowa that they would gladly hide the fact by merging with the Democrats."[408]

The Greenback State Convention for 1880 met at Des Moines on May 19th and 20th. Seventy-three counties were reported represented the first day, and seventy-six counties the second. A wrangle similar to that of 1879 over hard and soft money occurred. Mr. Moore of Dubuque said that he preferred greenbacks worth one hundred cents to silver dollars worth only eighty-five or eighty-six cents. Resolutions to present General Weaver as first choice for President to the national convention were objected to, but upon explanation that it was not intended to be an instruction to the delegates but only a recommendation it was adopted with three cheers and a tiger upon motion of Mr. L. H. Weller. There was also some discussion over the name of the party. Delegates at large were chosen as follows: J. B. Weaver, Daniel Campbell, E. H. Gillette, and M. H. Moore. A State committee with Mr. Weller as chairman was appointed; and district delegates, candidates for presidential electors, and State officers were also named. The candidate for

State Treasurer was described as an "Anti-Monop, a Granger and a Greenbacker." Speeches were made during the convention by Ingalls, Weller, Hoggatt, Moore, and Porte C. Welch.[409]

The Iowa State Register described the convention as up to the average as to character — "as Greenback Conventions go." "June Bug" Welch, "Calamity" Weller, "Blatherskite" Dawley, and "Disaster" Ingalls made the most speeches and the most noise; while the "comparatively sensible members like Stubbs and Moore, were trying to do the business . . . . in a decent way. But in its average membership it was the equal if not the superior of any Greenback Conventions there have been in Iowa. Many of its proceedings were ridiculous and disgusting, but that is a habit of the party — and the brass-band promenades on the streets were grotesque and comical, but everybody knows that in the show line the Greenback party is always the next thing to a circus. Porte Welch was really the controlling spirit of this Convention, and ran it to his notion."[410]

Some letters from Leonard Brown, published in *The Iowa State Register* during July and August, give an inside view of political affairs at that time. These letters especially attacked Gillette, and their truthfulness was confirmed editorially. "The Greenback party of Des Moines and Central Iowa was originally led by honest men, principally by intelligent farmers like Mr. Reinking, Mr. Hargis, and many others of their class and character. Gradually their places have been usurped by the loafers of the town and the city, by broken-down or played out preachers, by repudiated office-seekers, and by that whole class of town and city gentry who think there is a way in this world to make a living without working for it. Mr.

Reinking has left the organization entirely. Mr. Hargis is crowded out of sight and sound. . . . He was a Republican in the war days, and is as much of a Republican as ever on the Southern question. A high-minded man, but a patient one, he conceals a disgust for the present leadership of the party which more impetuous men, like Brown, indignantly express." [411]

Of course the *Iowa State Press* commented upon General Weaver's conduct as the Presidential candidate of the Greenbackers from the standpoint of a bitter opponent. It declared that he had not done one thing favorable to the Democrats. In Alabama, he had urged fusion with Republicans to defeat the Democrats; while in Maine he had denounced fusion. Recently he had been getting into hot water. The most prominent Greenbacker of Pennsylvania and Murch, the Greenback Congressman from Maine, denounced him. In addition, the secretary of the Greenback National Committee charged that he had had his campaign expenses entirely paid by the Republican National Committee. There was added the statement that of course General Weaver emphatically denied the accusation, but a letter was printed, dated at New York on October 8th, that confirmed the charge.[412]

Election results showed 32,780 votes for Greenback candidates, while the Republicans and Democrats gained strength. Dallas County gave the highest vote (1312), and six other counties gave over 1000 each — which in order of votes cast were Davis, Polk, Marion, Mahaska, Jasper, and Madison. This election marked the downward trend for the Greenbackers, with the slight exception of the year 1882 — leaving 1879 the banner year for the party in Iowa.[413] In the congressional districts the votes for Greenback candidates varied from 1200 to 5900,

except in the sixth and seventh districts where fusion took place as in 1878. Gillette was defeated for reëlection, although he received a few hundred more votes than in 1878. Mr. John A. Kasson, his Republican opponent, received over 19,000 votes, compared with the 15,000 given to the Republican candidate two years before. It need hardly be added that Mr. Kasson was a very strong candidate, while in 1878 the Republican representative was a weak candidate. The Republican candidate in the sixth district won over his Greenback opponent by a narrow vote — 18,017 to 17,911.[414]

The Iowa State Register recorded a decrease of nearly 15,000 in the Greenback vote as compared with the returns of 1879. In the sixth district alone they seem to have presented a solid front. In Howard County, which had been a solid Greenback county, there was a sweeping victory for the Republicans. Adams County had elected a Greenback representative in 1879, but he was defeated in 1880. The "miasma", it was said, would be swept away by the continuance of prosperity, the "good men" would find their way back to the "old moorings"; while the "arrant demagogues" would remain as long as their chance of profit remains. "Satisfaction with the present status in finances" was described as the cause of Greenback decline. "Any successful attempt at . . . . radical changes, such as the withdrawal of the greenback, or the demonetization of the silver dollar will be attended with serious and disastrous results to the party responsible for it. All the financial doctrinaires have the unanimous leave of the masses to keep quiet".[415]

Late in November, 1880, the Greenbackers held a conference at Des Moines, at which about fifty persons were present, including Muffly, Weller, Wilcox, Skinner, Cole,

Weaver, Gillette, and Ingalls. Reporters were excluded; but according to the accounts of the proceedings that got into circulation, Mr. Weller spoke first, emphasizing the need of canvassing the State carefully in order to make a better showing. Dr. Ramsey, who was called to the chair, compared the Greenback party with the Republican party in its early days. Mr. Ingalls was chosen to act as secretary, but he declined to serve in that capacity.[416]

John P. Irish commented editorially upon the political situation in Iowa in February. "There is", he said, "a third party in the field which will not voluntarily suspend or disband. The Greenbackers will maintain an organization. It is true that Greenbackism is only a form of Republicanism." He thought that the suggestion which had been made in 1873 that the Democrats nominate no ticket would throw into the Greenback party its 100,000 votes and give to it "a temporary inflation". Mr. Irish described Greenbackism as "that most pernicious form of Republicanism . . . . Both wings of the Republican party in Iowa, the Greenback and bond-holding wings alike, favor sumptuary laws; they favor disfigurement of the constitution. We oppose it." [417] Again, later in the year the same writer referred to the Greenbackers as "Assistant Republicans", who have "taken a contract to keep the opposition divided and the Republicans in power . . . . The Republican and Greenback parties believe in the government doing as much as possible and the people as little as possible — in paternalism." [418]

In March a meeting was held in Des Moines to arrange for a reception to Weaver and Gillette. According to *The Iowa State Register* there were present at the beginning of this meeting "by actual count, only twenty-six men and eight boys." Arrangements were made and

funds collected to bring "Old" Jesse Harper of Illinois from Cass County, where he was then staying, to make the principal speech at the proposed rally and reception. It was also suggested that a smaller meeting be held before the larger one.[419]

The Greenback State Convention for 1881 was held at Marshalltown on June 1st and 2nd — this being the first meeting of the kind held outside of Des Moines. Different reports were given as to the attendance, the figures varying from three hundred to seven hundred; although *The Iowa State Register* stated that about two hundred and fifty delegates were present. The Marshalltown meeting was a session of speech-making. Congressman De La Matyr of Indiana, Jesse Harper of Illinois, M. H. Williams of Missouri, and Warren Chase of California were speakers from outside the State; while Weaver, Gillette, Leonard Brown, and Ingalls were the local celebrities who were heard from.

The platform contained many new items, of which the most important was equal political rights for men and women. To give practical effect to this plank, a woman was nominated as a candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction, although delegates who belonged to the legal profession declared that she could not serve if elected.[420] The candidate, thus nominated, declined in a letter in which she said that the nomination was made without her consent; and in addition she indicated that she favored the Republican party, and that she did not wish to vote. Other resolutions favored the appointment of a volunteer worker in each township and county to spread Greenback doctrine by pamphlets and documents, expressed sympathy for the Irish Land League and downtrodden people everywhere, and declared in favor of the

election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators by direct vote. A resolution thanking the railroads for reduced fare to delegates was lost. Mr. L. H. Weller was reëlected as chairman of the State committee.[421]

In the election the Greenbackers polled 28,112 votes — a falling off of over 4000 from the preceding year. The Democrats gained 27,000 votes; while the Republicans lost 50,000. Evidently many who voted the Republican or Greenback ticket in 1880 voted with the Democrats in 1881. Only three counties gave Greenback candidates over 1000 votes — Davis, Dallas, and Mahaska. Six Greenback representatives were elected from Chickasaw, Marion, Davis, Howard, Guthrie, and Adams counties.[422]

Mr. John P. Irish in his spicy way commented upon the results, declaring that the "Greenback Republicans" have nearly all got back into the old camp; indeed, in those counties where the greatest Greenback vote was formerly cast, the voters are all back in the regular Republican ranks. In his own county, where "this form of Republicanism is comparatively new", he noticed this peculiarity in the men who went from the "regular wing of the Republican party into the greenback wing, [that] on election day they vote the regular Republican ticket."[423]

In March, 1882, the editor of the *Iowa State Press* renewed his attack on the Greenbackers in anticipation of the coming congressional campaign. He declared that "General Weaver has deserted distinctive Greenback ground and passes as an anti monopolist . . . . He is a sham reformer, a sort of a $25.00 a day reformer, who sticks his finger into the spigot but refuses to investigate the bung."[424]

The Iowa State Register now joined its ancient opponent in denouncing the Greenbackers. It described the Republicans in 1878 in the sixth and seventh districts as defeated by the "Greenback craze — that varioloid of larceny which raged so fiercely then and has not entirely abated yet, and which Gen. Weaver and Mr. Gillette are now trying so energetically to regalvanize into the virulent form it had then. It will be remembered by Republicans that Weaver and Gillette, and the noisy band of speakers who swarmed at their heels in the county seats, to echo their lunacies in the rural districts, made a very aggressive raid on the Republican ranks in an effort to prove that the specious stuff they preached was the old Republican doctrine." Although Republican speakers could disprove this easily, the Greenback speakers would "draw out a copy of the *Inter-Ocean* newspaper of Chicago, and triumphantly flourish it *as Republican proof* of their position and claim." They had sent to them daily large numbers of this paper which were distributed free to the crowd. The influence of this paper was greater because as a Republican organ it had been edited by the former member of Congress from Des Moines. Later it became a Greenback paper and "more than all other influences in the West combined, built up that tramp theory in finance . . . . which was eventually made the principal basis and is now the only basis of the so-called Greenback party." The defeats of 1878 were due, it was asserted, to the *Inter Ocean* and to Weaver's and Gillette's skillful use of it. They are described as busily at work again in 1882, aided by the *State Leader*, the main organ of the fusion in 1878. "Is it for this purpose that Gen. Weaver boasts he has raised ten thousand dollars already, and that he is going to raise fifty thousand

more? Does this give any explanation to the fact of the paper that elected Weaver and Gillette in 1878 being forced into these Districts so actively now, and at such reduced rates?'' [425]

The same paper referred to Mr. B. J. Chambers of Texas, candidate for the Vice Presidency in 1880, as having ''recently said that his party has become 'disorganized and disintegrated beyond the hope of a successful rally' ''. It declared that General Weaver believed the same thing. ''But as long as he can raise a fund of $10,000 a year 'for the cause' by popular subscription, as he is doing now, he isn't going to say anything about the party being dead, although he knows that it is.'' He is described as a typical ''sorehead'' who ''was kept in office by the Republican party for twelve or fifteen years, and a part of the time held two offices at once. But after drawing some $50,000 or $60,000 of such salaries he wanted to be Governor of Iowa, and was refused the honor by the party. Then he became a sorehead, and next a renegade. That is all that ails him now. If he had been nominated for Governor by the Republicans he would have been to-day as ardent if not as sincere a Republican as there is in Iowa''.[426]

''The Sioux City *Independent*, the oldest Greenback paper in the State, and almost the only one of any decency that survived the storm and cold of last year's politics, yielded up the ghost with its last issue. Of the thirty or forty Greenback papers that were started during the high prevalence of the disease in Iowa . . . . only three or four remain'', according to *The Iowa State Register* of April 14, 1882.[427]

An editorial in the same paper compares ''Tornadoes and Greenbackers''. ''Tornadoes have been responsible

for a great deal of misfortune. So have the Greenbackers. . . . But the most striking attribute common to the Greenbackers and to tornadoes is their communism. A Communist advocates the taking from those who have and the giving to those who have not. So does the tornado, and neither will listen to any argument to the contrary. . . . The tornado succeeds, but the Greenbacker contents himself with writing poems on the rights of labor, or starting weekly newspapers." [428]

The Greenback State Convention for 1882 met at Des Moines on June 7th and 8th. Four hundred and fifty delegates representing seventy counties were present. The temperance plank, which had a place in the platforms of 1877-1879, produced a lively debate and was approved by a very close vote. Criticism of the national banks was especially emphasized. As in 1881 an effort was made to get Greenback literature before the people. A press association plan was discussed and a committee composed of one member from each district was appointed.[429]

Late in June the committee issued an address to the "Greenback Laborers of Iowa", in which reference was made to the consideration of the formation of a State press association by the recent State convention. The purpose was "to establish Greenback papers in counties where none are published, and to assist those already established". The plan included the raising of $10,000 in shares of $10 each; the stockholders in each congressional district were to elect one member of the executive committee, and these eleven were to elect a stockholder not of their number as chairman; the executive committee was to elect a secretary, treasurer, "a financier", and an editor, and "buy and locate at the capital of the State,

a press and other fixtures sufficient to print a paper and do general job work." [430]

The election resulted in the casting of 30,817 votes for the Greenbackers — a slight gain over the vote of 1881. Apparently many, who in the preceding year voted for the Democrats, this year voted for the Republicans or Greenbackers. There was a Republican gain of about 15,000, a Greenback gain of 2,000, and a Democratic loss of about 20,000. Five counties each gave more than 1,000 Greenback votes: these were Mahaska, Jasper, Davis, Dallas, and Marion. L. H. Weller was elected to Congress from the fourth district on a fusion ticket.[431]

Light is thrown upon the political situation by two short editorials in *The Iowa State Register*, in which reference is made to letters from Leonard Brown, who is described as "so long the leader and always the brains of the Greenback party" in Iowa. In these letters he declared "that he was tired of Weaverism, into which the remnant of the Greenback party in Iowa had changed, and that he should vote the Republican ticket." Furthermore, he "shows that there is no longer need or excuse for the . . . . Greenback party. . . . All the great leaders . . . . are pronouncing its race concluded. General Butler in accepting the party's nomination for Governor of Massachusetts, boldly tells it is practically defunct. . . . What Butler, Brown and others are saying this year, the Weavers and Gillettes will be admitting next year." [432] Another phase of the political situation is illuminated by another editorial in the same paper, which appeared under the title of "Buying Iowa with Money". It must be remembered that 1882 was the year in which the prohibition amendment to the State Constitution was adopted, only to be declared in-

valid by the Supreme Court the following year upon a technicality. It was natural that feeling should run high upon the subject and thus bring about the subordination of other issues. *The Iowa State Register* referred to the "vast amount of corruption money that was being poured into this State to defeat the Republican candidates for Congress. . . . The people of this country are just beginning to see that the liquor interest of the United States can afford to spend ten millions of dollars a year to take care of its interests in politics." This money nearly defeated Republican candidates in three districts, actually did defeat them in two, and in one district elected "Calamity Weller, the greatest political crank that Iowa has yet produced, in any party or in any field outside of a lunatic asylum." In two other districts, this interest "found neither Mackey or Weaver for sale" and knew money was useless against Mr. Kasson. Finally, three strong agricultural districts were not tried because it was known to be hopeless.[433]

Early in 1883 the *Iowa State Press* made a bitter editorial attack upon General Weaver's position in regard to prohibition. It referred to him as the "new leader of the temperance crusade, the great Greenbacker, and 'the wild ass of the prairies'. The temperance question promises to be a triple alliance, an unholy combination of the greenbacker, the republican and the prohibitionist. It is a fitting and peculiarly appropriate circumstance that a man who is distrusted by all should be the standard bearer of a new attempt to inject an universal panacea into fundamental law of the state. That the most dishonest politician in the state heads a moral party, is a good send off for it." [434]

The Greenback State Convention for 1883 met at Des

Moines on July 11th, with sixty-six counties represented by a number of delegates differently reported as from two hundred to four hundred. *The Iowa State Register* described it as "much the smallest the party has had in Iowa for several years, and the least enthusiastic it has ever had — two facts which show that the party has nearly waned away, and that its members are largely returning to their former alliances in the republican and democratic parties." Although there was some opposition to prohibition, the sentiment in its favor was overwhelming. "Calamity" Weller offered a resolution, favoring "the use of all wise means for the suppression of the evils of intemperance", and describing the action of the Republican party in regard to the constitutional amendment as "a delusion and a snare", which was laid on the table by a large majority. This vote did not indicate opposition on the part of the delegates to Weller's general position, for, in the platform adopted, there was a plank expressing essentially the same sentiments, but somewhat differently stated. The platform was the longest yet made. General Weaver was nominated for Governor, and "the proceedings closed with a ranting prohibition speech" from him in which he "declared the greenbackers the only genuine simon pure prohibs." [435]

The campaign of 1883 was "one of the most hotly contested ever known in the State, not excepting those of war times." A series of joint debates was arranged between the Republican and Democratic candidates for Governor. The request of the Greenback party to have its candidate included was acceded to by the Democratic nominee, but Governor Buren R. Sherman refused to allow General Weaver to participate. The reasons given for this action were that "the real contest" was "be-

tween the Republican and Democratic parties''; ''no such wide variance'' existed between the Republican and Greenback parties since ''the Greenback question'' seemed ''to have been practically settled by the people themselves''; and ''upon the saloon question . . . . your party has ranged itself on the Republican side of the issue.'' General Weaver, however, was not left out of the contest, because a series of meetings was arranged for him ''in the evenings of the same days and at the same places where the joint discussions were to be held in the afternoon. This gave him the advantage of a large audience without the disadvantages of limited time to which the two other speakers were held.''

The first meeting was at Independence on August 29th; and the last of the series of eleven dates was at Des Moines on October 3rd. It was estimated that at least seventy-five thousand persons heard the speeches of the two leading candidates, and a large proportion of this number undoubtedly heard General Weaver. Unusually full reports of these meetings were featured by the newspapers, and they were ''read by over a million readers.'' [436]

The Greenbackers polled 23,013 votes at the election — a loss of 7000 from the result in 1882. Both old parties showed gains, indicating that Greenbackers were returning to their former allegiances. This was the first year since 1876, excepting the fusion year of 1878, when the Greenbackers did not poll one thousand votes in some county: Mahaska led with 973 votes, and Davis, Jasper, Dallas, and Marion each gave more than 500. Six Greenback representatives were elected from Monona, Marion, Madison, Union, Appanoose, and Warren counties.[437]

The chief subject of discussion among the Greenbackers

in Iowa in 1884 was that of fusion with the Democrats, since it was becoming apparent to all but the extremists that practical results could be obtained in no other way. The *Iowa State Press* in an editorial in May described sentiment in its part of the State as about evenly divided. It referred to the Republicans as the principal objectors, and mentioned those Democrats who believed they could carry the State in 1885. The conclusion was that the matter would be discussed widely before and at the State conventions.[438]

The Greenback State Convention, which was held at Des Moines late in August, consisted of three hundred and ten delegates representing sixty-six counties. It was not at all an harmonious meeting because of differences of opinion over the question of fusion, the vote upon this question standing 225 in favor and 88 against. The convention nominated six presidential electors and two candidates for State offices, leaving the remaining places to be filled by the Democrats. There was a general feeling in favor of trying to obtain six electoral votes for Butler and seven for Cleveland in preference to giving the thirteen votes of the State to Blaine. The *Iowa State Press* indulged in unusual praise of the Greenbackers for their adoption of the fusion policy. It described the action as taken by them in their "largest and most thoroughly representative as well as most enthusiastic convention ever held in Iowa".[439] The Democratic State Convention ratified what Congressman Weller aptly described as the "cooperative ticket". Apparently there was unusual unanimity of opinion, for twenty or more speakers all favored the action which seems to have received the general endorsement of the delegates "as a means by which to break the long, insolent domination of the Clarkson ring

politicians." Ex-Senator Doolittle of Wisconsin was described as making a "noble speech" after the nominations were completed.[440]

At the Greenback convention the platform was adopted with little discussion. Delegates to the national convention at Indianapolis in May had been nominated by the State committee. The delegates at large were Weaver, Gillette, Weller, and W. S. Kenworthy — the latter having been described in 1883 as "half preacher, half lawyer [and] entire political blatherskite from Mahaska county."[441] Weaver was the permanent president of the national convention and Gillette was a member of the committee on resolutions.[442]

A group of Greenbackers, opposed to fusion, arranged for a convention to be held at Cedar Rapids in October to put a regular ticket in the field and to nominate a candidate for Congress against General Weaver. They finally concluded not to nominate and simply issued an address.[443]

The election resulted in the choice of the Blaine electors, but by a vote that was the smallest given a Republican candidate for President since 1860. The votes for presidential electors at large were: Republican, 197,087 and 197,075; Fusion, 177,286 and 177,316. The congressional delegation stood seven Republicans and four Fusion. James B. Weaver was elected to Congress a second time from the sixth district on a fusion ticket.[444]

In October the *Iowa State Press* declared that "our greenback friends have come up nobly to assist in the fight against the common enemy, and their support insures . . . . the utter rout of the monopolistic candidates."[445] The conclusion to be drawn from the results of the election is that the Greenbackers contributed very

materially to the Democratic success in the country at large. In a certain sense the first Democratic national victory since the Civil War may be regarded as the culmination of the Greenback movement: most certainly the Greenback party was a potent factor in the result. As has frequently happened in the history of third parties, real gains are recorded in the votes cast for, or taken away from the two great parties.

Again, in 1885 fusion with the Democrats was the chief topic of discussion at the Greenback State Convention. Mr. Weller, chairman of the meeting, favored fusion if it did not involve principles, suggesting that a full ticket be nominated, giving the State committee authority to make changes that might seem necessary or desirable. "The speech of the day" was made by Congressman Weaver who said that he was tied to no party, favored coöperation with the Democrats to overthrow the Republicans, and was not afraid of fusion; for if the Democrats absorbed them they would have to become Greenbackers to do it. He said there were two methods to be followed by the Greenbackers. One was the Solon Chase way to go straight and kill the party as Chase did in Maine. "But he ran the party so near to the republicans that the distance was short enough so that he could reach out his hand and receive the money into his palm."

The second plan was the Michigan method, where "all of our principles are adopted by the democrats and you cannot to-day tell a greenback audience from a democratic audience. . . . The republican party in that state is overthrown by this fusion of the democratic and greenback parties." Mr. Weaver declared that he had known the politics of the State for twenty-five years, and that "we are going to carry the state this fall". *The*

Iowa State Register, he said, had denounced Greenbackers "as cranks and lunatics", but now they have become afraid and call them "pretty good men. . . . When they get afraid of you, that is the next thing to victory." He believed that fusion would secure a Greenback Lieutenant Governor and State Superintendent and an anti-monopoly Governor and Judge and possibly an entire Greenback ticket.

General Weaver was made permanent chairman of the convention, and a motion to nominate only Lieutenant Governor and State Superintendent was adopted by a vote of 370½ to 112½. The Democratic convention discussed fusion, but as sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of the proposition no vote was taken. General Weaver addressed the Democrats upon the Greenback position.[446]

The election resulted in the success of the Republicans by a narrow margin, Governor Larrabee receiving 175,504 votes, compared with 168,525 for the Democratic candidate. Mr. Larrabee's plurality was only 5,216. Thus it appears that fusion almost wiped out the Republican margin. The Greenback candidates on the fusion ticket, Gillette for Lieutenant Governor and F. W. Moore of Davis County for Superintendent, received 167,723 and 166,306 votes respectively. Dissatisfied Greenbackers voted for Elias Doty for Governor, who received 314 votes — Mahaska County gave sixty-one votes; while Dallas, Davis, Harrison, and Linn were the only other counties that contributed any considerable number.[447]

In a quotation from *The Des Moines Leader* one gets a view of the political situation after the election. "The democrats are free to accord to Gen. Weaver the credit due him for his invaluable help in the contest just closed.

He is not only the most effective speaker, but he is one of the best organizers in the state . . . . With the help of two more such men we should have carried the state by a nice majority. He has the gratitude and the warm esteem of every democrat in the state.

"Mr. Gillette, likewise, did good service for the joint ticket. He made many speeches, and good ones. He used his influence with the rank and file of his party to prevent local jealousies. And in all respects he maintained a dignified and sensible course . . . . the close of the campaign finds them in better humor with each other than the parties to a defeated coalition could reasonably be expected to be. . . . The enemy is staggered by the result, and a happy republican does not exist in Iowa to-day. Everybody sees the handwriting on the wall." [448]

In May, 1886, an anti-fusion Greenback convention met at Cedar Rapids, composed of from thirty to forty delegates. The leaders of this section of the Greenbackers declared they were through with General Weaver. Mr. W. S. Kenworthy of Mahaska County was said by the *Iowa Tribune* to be the leader of this wing of the party.

Early in July the regular State convention assembled at Des Moines. As in the last two years fusion, coming up at the beginning of the sessions, was the chief matter of discussion. A committee was appointed to confer with a committee named by the Democratic convention which was in session at the same time, and this committee reported an agreement made with the Democrats by which the latter were to appoint four persons, one of whom should be a Knight of Labor, and the Greenbackers were to appoint two, both of whom were to be Knights of Labor; and these six persons were to arrange the terms of

fusion. This report was described as enthusiastically received, and later on it was announced that the Democrats adopted the Greenback platform and nominees.

Although the Cedar Rapids anti-fusion convention nominated candidates, apparently no votes were cast for them. General Weaver was reëlected to Congress.[449]

Fusion was still the source of party division in 1887; and in June a convention under the name of Union Labor was held at Marshalltown, about thirty-three counties being represented by seventy-eight delegates. This convention adopted a platform and nominated candidates, but its proceedings were not satisfactory to those who favored fusion. The anti-fusion faction was led by Mr. Weller and Mr. James R. Sovereign of Atlantic; while Gillette and Hoggatt led the opposing wing. The latter section far outnumbered the former; but Weller succeeded in passing a resolution allowing those present to cast the full vote of their county, and as a result the distant counties on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers and in northwestern Iowa, though slimly represented, had as much weight as the sixth and seventh districts that had almost a full representation. Consequently, a minority at once obtained a two-thirds vote, giving the anti-fusionists control.

The dissatisfied Greenbackers met in Des Moines late in August and issued an address to farmers and labor men, but they made no nominations. In October the State committee, which had been selected at Des Moines, issued a short address regretting that the convention at Marshalltown had not been harmonious, declaring the platform satisfactory, and advising members of the party to support the ticket since it was too late to select new candidates. The Greenback vote was 14,283, as com-

pared with 23,013 in 1883, the last year in which there had been a straight Greenback ticket in the field. The Democratic vote was 153,706, a loss of 14,000 from 1885; and the Republican vote was 169,595, a loss of 6000 from 1885. The Democratic loss corresponds very closely with the Greenback vote. Only one county, Dubuque, cast more than one thousand Greenback votes.[450]

In 1888 the Greenbackers got together and held only one convention, which assembled at Marshalltown in June, and at which it was agreed to put a straight ticket in the field for the State election. The leaders were Weller, Gillette, and Sovereign, and there were present about one hundred delegates representing thirty-three counties. There was considerable discussion over the endorsement of Weaver and Albert R. Anderson of the eighth district for their action in Congress — Weller opposing the endorsement of the latter. Hoggatt opposed the prohibition plank, not because he was opposed to prohibition, but because its advocacy of that issue was destroying the Republican party. Both resolutions were adopted with very little opposition. Nominations were made as usual.

Several Iowa Greenbackers were prominent in the National Union Labor convention which was held at Cincinnati on May 14, 1888. Mr. Gillette as chairman of the national committee called the convention to order. There were seventeen Iowa delegates present. M. J. Caine, Greenback candidate for Governor in 1887, was a member of the committee on credentials; Weller was on the committee on permanent organization; and W. H. Robb of Creston was a member of the committee on resolutions and read the platform.

Election returns gave the Greenbackers 9005 votes in Iowa — four hundred less than in 1876 and a falling off of 5,278 from 1887. The Democratic vote was 180,455, a gain of 26,749 from 1887; while the Republican vote was 211,577, a gain of 41,982 over that of the preceding year. The great parties were recovering from the effects of the Greenback movement. The largest Greenback showing was in Union County, where 460 such votes were cast.[451]

A Greenback Union Labor convention was held at Des Moines in September, 1889, the sentiment of which was strongly against fusion. Mr. Weller introduced a resolution against fusion which was adopted after a lively debate by a vote of 151 to 30. Resolutions were passed favoring the nomination of candidates for the United States Senate by the different political parties and proposing the naming of General Weaver as the Union Labor candidate for Senator. Gillette presented the platform, and the usual nominations were made. At the election that year the vote for these candidates was 5,773. Elias Doty also received fifty-four votes as a Greenback candidate for Governor. The highest vote for Greenbackers was in Davis County, where five hundred votes were cast.

The election of 1889 was notable in Iowa as giving to the Democrats their first Governor since the Civil War. Their candidate, Horace Boies, received 180,111 votes, as compared with 173,538 for the Republican candidate. The chief influence in determining the outcome of this campaign was the prohibition issue — a great number of Republicans in the river counties, where the sentiment for license was strong, voting for Mr. Boies. This accounted for the falling off of 38,039 votes for the Republican

candidate as compared with the vote of the preceding year. The Greenback issues had ceased for the time to be of any great importance.[452]

In August, 1890, a convention held at Des Moines was composed of Union Labor men, old line Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, Grangers, and other representatives: indeed, it is difficult to tell just what was included. General Weaver and Daniel Campbell of Monona, Greenback candidate for Governor in 1879, addressed the meeting. W. H. Robb, Gillette, and Hoggatt took a prominent part, but Weller was not mentioned. It was said that General Weaver did not wish to identify himself too closely with Union Labor for fear of hurting himself with the Democrats.[453] The committee on credentials reported 135 delegates, and the *Iowa Tribune* claimed that enough came in later to bring the number up to two hundred. Two Des Moines papers reported the number as 161.

The candidates nominated by this nondescript convention received 8813 votes, an increase over 1889 of 3234 votes, due undoubtedly to the new elements taken in and the growing strength of Populism. One county, Monona, gave twelve hundred votes. The Democratic vote was 188,240 as compared with 180,111 in 1889; while the Republican vote was 191,606 as compared with 173,538 in the preceding year.[454]

The next year saw the birth of a new political party in Iowa — "the Peoples Party" which held its first State convention at Des Moines in June.

The economic basis of the Greenback movement in Iowa is to be found in "a study of the conditions of agriculture" in the State preceding and during its continuance. During the decade of 1860 to 1870 "there was a

remarkable growth . . . . in population, in area under cultivation, and in production, and since remunerative prices ruled throughout most of this decade the agricultural interests were exceedingly prosperous." The increase in the population of the United States during the decade was twenty-two and six-tenths percent, and of Iowa seventy-six and nine-tenths percent. The number of new farms established during the period was 55,129, or an increase of ninety percent in Iowa. "This enormous increase in area under cultivation, of course, meant a great increase in production." The amount of corn and wheat produced almost doubled. Other factors that entered into the increase were the introduction of agricultural machinery, the influence of the Homestead Law, and the stimulus of high war prices.

Again, persons engaged in agriculture under these conditions "usually carried on their operations on a very narrow margin: consequently they were among those most seriously affected by the sharp decline in the prices of agricultural products" which occurred in the years from 1870 to 1880. When they found themselves "pinched by the falling prices, they tried three different means to relieve themselves. First, they attempted to reduce the cost of transporting their products; second, they tried to eliminate the commission of the middle man through coöperative buying and selling through the Grange; and third, they demanded that the United States Government increase the circulating medium. In fact the fight against the railroads, the Granger movement, and the Greenback movement are all phases of one large movement."

A comparison of conditions in Iowa and Wisconsin throws considerable light upon the economic factors in

the Greenback agitation. There was in Iowa "a marked concentration of attention on a few staple grains, while in Wisconsin agriculture was becoming more diversified . . . . In Iowa a much greater percentage of the population was dependent upon agriculture, while in Wisconsin much more attention had been given to manufacturing."

These different conditions were reflected in the Greenback movement. "The year of the poorest yield per acre of wheat in the history of both of these States was the year of the organization of the Greenback party and . . . . the years of the lowest prices and greatest agricultural depression were also the years of the greatest strength of the Greenback party, and . . . . as prosperity returned the strength of the Greenback party waned. If this was more than mere coincidence it would be expected that the heaviest Greenback vote would be found in that State which was more dependent upon agriculture, and that this vote would also be heavier in those sections of each State which were the most dependent upon that industry."

The election returns show that "the Greenback vote was not only heavier but continued over a longer period of years in Iowa than in Wisconsin." The counties where there was less manufacturing, where the assessed value of land was less, where the total assessed valuation per capita was lower, were the ones in which the Greenback vote was the heaviest. The "Greenback counties" were more frontier in character.[455] Like its predecessor, the Anti-Monopoly party, and its successor, the Populist party, the Greenback party found its economic basis in the conditions of agriculture during its continuance. This economic basis differentiated these parties from the older

organizations whose roots were largely historical and political. Changing economic conditions were also responsible for the ephemeral nature of the movements to which they gave rise. The distinctive character of these so-called third parties can only be appreciated when they are studied in the economic environment out of which they developed.

XIV

A CRUCIAL PERIOD — 1880 TO 1890

The years from 1880 to 1890 were crucial years in the "history of the struggle for human rights" in the United States.[456] The climax of the Greenback Labor movement came in 1880 when General Weaver polled the largest vote which had been received since the Civil War by a candidate for President not nominated by one of the two leading parties. As has already been suggested the Democratic victories of 1882 were the outcome of the agitation of new issues, resulting in the concentration of the forces of opposition in the ranks of that party and giving it at least a temporary majority. This situation culminated in 1884 when Cleveland defeated Blaine.

Conditions in 1884 were complex and confusing. On the surface General Butler's nomination seemed merely a continuance of the Greenback Labor party, but more careful observation brings to light a number of complications. Butler was first nominated by a convention of the Anti-Monopoly party, and a few weeks later his candidacy was accepted by the Greenback Labor party. He went to the national convention of the Democratic party the same year as a delegate at large from Massachusetts, and after opposing unsuccessfully the ticket and platform he accepted the Anti-Monopoly and Greenback Labor nominations and advocated the consolidation of all the elements of opposition into a "People's" party. Thus the campaign was a comprehensive attempt to merge the

different radical groups into a single party. The reduced vote, as compared with 1880, shows that the effort was premature, but the attempt may have contributed something to later and more successful undertakings.[457]

How radicals viewed the situation is shown by the fact that Henry George regarded Butler as insincere and a mere "decoy duck for the Republican party." He opposed Blaine because of what he called the "protection humbug", and he was "utterly disgusted with the attitude of the Democratic party. It is a mere party of expediency, and as such can never win." Cleveland's nomination, he declared, was an expediency nomination.[458]

In *The Story of a Labor Agitator* Joseph R. Buchanan, long identified with organized labor as an editor and leader, says that "General Butler and his platform appealed especially to wage-workers, but they received very little support from that quarter, the greater part of the People's party vote coming from the farmers." Buchanan refers to the doubt as to the genuineness of Butler's campaign and remarks that he does not know as to the truth of the charge, "but it was sufficient to keep many workingmen from voting the People's party ticket. I have always observed", he adds, "that only a slight fog was necessary to obscure the political vision of the average workingman." [459]

Among the contributing factors to the confused political situation in 1884 were: (1) the Knights of Labor; (2) the so-called Single Tax movement, led by Henry George; and (3) an agitation occasioned by the appearance of "giant monopolies" controlling "transportation, money, and the transmission of intelligence." [460]

The Knights of Labor were the first organization of labor on a really national scale. Locally they began in

Philadelphia in 1869, but it was not till 1878 that they appeared as a national organization. This was in the same year in which a partial union of Greenback and Labor forces was arranged at Toledo; and it was also the year in which the Greenback Labor vote reached its largest numbers (1,000,365), exceeding that of the presidential year 1880.[461] Very naturally these different activities influenced each other, and it was almost impossible for the Knights of Labor to confine themselves to non-political work for the benefit of workingmen. Frequently recurring strikes also added to the difficulties of the situation.[462] Under these conditions the Knights became involved in politics, and after reaching a membership of about 500,000 in 1885 [463] they began to decline and were gradually replaced by the American Federation of Labor which has very largely limited itself to non-political matters.

Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* was published in 1879 and became under his leadership the basis for a discussion of social conditions, especially as influenced by taxation, which has had a far-reaching influence and which in its main contentions has had a very wide acceptance. During these years Henry George was conspicuous chiefly as a radical and as a labor leader, and his influence upon these movements was noteworthy and extended to foreign countries. His organizing ability and his effectiveness as a public speaker made him one of the vital forces in a formative period.[464]

Reference has already been made to the beginning of a new Anti-Monopoly party and to a remarkable article contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1881 by Henry D. Lloyd, which article was occasioned to a considerable extent by the formation of aggregations of capital such as

the Standard Oil Company.[465] These industrial combinations, added to the unrest already existing as a result of the agitation concerning railroad and money monopolies, aroused the fears of classes that had not been stirred by earlier protests. At the same time the coherence of the general radical movement was reduced and its working efficiency weakened. The practical outcome was a reduced vote for General Butler in 1884 and the success of the Democrats.

In 1886 the so-called "Chicago Anarchists" gave a lurid and violent aspect to the whole radical movement and frightened away many of the more timid and conservative supporters. A few of the more discerning men of the period interpreted this outbreak in its true relations; they viewed it as merely a violent incident in what was on the whole a peaceful agitation for the reduction of the hours of labor. The efforts of men like Henry D. Lloyd to have the Anarchists treated with justice was beyond the comprehension of the dominant opinion of the time and was treated, as was the later pardon of the survivors by Governor Altgeld in 1893, as the act of persons either mentally unbalanced or criminally inclined. Probably it was too much to expect men of that period to see things as clearly as they can be seen after the lapse of years. That we have gained in social vision was illustrated in the trial of the Lawrence Strike leaders when compared with the methods used in dealing with their Chicago predecessors. In both cases the violence was an incident, perhaps an inevitable incident, for which society as well as the individuals was responsible.[466]

The years between 1884 and 1888 witnessed an attempt to organize the radical elements of the country under labor leadership. The Greenback Labor party gradually

disappeared and "a wave of labor parties swept over the country, with which Socialists in several localities made common cause." [467]

The most important of these new parties was the Union Labor party which was formed at Cincinnati on February 22, 1887, by delegates "from the labor and farmers' organizations, including the Knights of Labor, the Agricultural Wheelers, the Corn-growers, the Homesteadry, Farmers' Alliances, Greenbackers, and Grangers." The party placed State tickets in the field in several States in 1887 and in "nearly all the Western States" in 1888.[468]

Buchanan in *The Story of a Labor Agitator* gives an excellent description of the situation in 1888, when there were many rumors of parties that were "to wipe the old parties off the face of the earth and secure the establishment of a people's government. Division of the independent political forces into one, two, or half a dozen parties has ever been the bane of progress in this country. During the sixteen years preceding 1888 there had been attempts under a dozen different banners, and upon as many platforms, to wrest government from the control of the monopolistic money power of the land. I had taken part in several of these attempts. We had failed utterly in almost every instance; our successes had been insignificant and of no practical benefit . . . . Thefts of public lands, credits, and franchises had gone on at a constantly accelerating rate . . . . Realizing that all future efforts, if directed along the lines we had been following, were doomed in advance to failure, I made a suggestion embodying another policy . . . . My proposal was discussed in hundreds of reform and labor papers throughout the country and accepted by many of them,

and as 'Buchanan's nine word platform' was for six months a frequent topic . . . .

"The writer [of the platform] has sat in two different national conventions which were called for that purpose [union], and he has participated in the failures. . . . Men representing a dozen different shades of opinion have come together, ostensibly to pool their issues and amalgamate the elements . . . . The upshot of the business has been a few truces; the stronger faction has written the platform, while the rest have gone home sore-headed and — and the millionaires have continued to run the machine . . . . There must be a union of the following forces: The Union Labor Party, United Labor Party, Progressive Labor Party, American Reform Party, the Grange, the Tax Reformers, The Farmers' Alliance, Anti-monopolists, Homesteaders, and all other political and politico-economic organizations of bread-winners. How is this amalgamation to be brought about? . . . . By putting into it [the platform] the one thing that all the elements approve; by leaving out everything upon which there is division. Is there one thing that all the elements endorse, regardless of their other demands? There is: *Government ownership and operation of the railroads and telegraph.* . . . Let each wing of the reform movement withhold for twelve months its hobbies, and all join hands for a united onslaught upon one of the enemies' weakest, though most important points." [469]

The nearest approach which the platform had to consideration for political use was at the national conventions of the United Labor and Union Labor parties in 1888. Dr. Edward McGlynn of New York City had writ-

ten endorsing it and urging Buchanan to be present in Cincinnati to advocate it as a method of union for the two parties. Charles G. Dixon, a labor representative in the Illinois legislature, called upon Buchanan and urged him to go to Cincinnati. The author of the platform, however, felt that the plan should succeed on its merits and refused to go. Of course, the document was never adopted.[470]

The Union Labor party held its first and only nominating convention to select candidates for President and Vice President at Cincinnati on May 15, 1888. The convention, which was attended by two hundred and seventy-four delegates from twenty-five States, nominated for President Mr. Alson J. Streeter of Illinois and for Vice President Mr. Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas. The platform opposed land monopoly, the importation of contract labor, and Chinese immigration; and it favored the ownership of the means of transportation and communication by the people, a graduated income tax, the direct election of United States Senators, and equal suffrage. "The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly, and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils." [471]

In his letter of acceptance the candidate for the Presidency declared that the "prosperity of a Nation is measured by the prosperity of its industrial people. If they are prosperous, then the Nation is prosperous, indeed: but if its producing people are struggling with poverty, taxes and debt, then the nation is poor, though its treasury, like ours, be overflowing with idle money. Such is the condition of our Nation to-day." [472]

"The Union Labor party drew its support from the

Greenbackers, the farmer organizations, and the older labor-reformers."[473] Woodburn in his *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* describes it as "formed by a union of the 'Greenback Labor Party', of rural constituency, with the city trades-union organizations which have been demanding labor and industrial reforms."[474]

The United Labor party was the outgrowth of the campaign of 1886 in New York City, when Henry George was nominated for mayor and made a phenomenal run, polling 68,110 votes, while Theodore Roosevelt, the Republican candidate, and Abram S. Hewitt, the successful Democratic candidate, received 60,435 and 90,552 votes, respectively.[475] This success led to the entry of Mr. George and his supporters into the State campaign; in August, 1887, he was nominated for Secretary of State upon a platform substantially the same as that upon which he had run for the mayoralty. The presence of Socialist delegates in the convention that named him caused trouble and they were finally excluded upon technical grounds. These excluded delegates formed the Progressive Labor party in New York City; but at the ensuing election they cast only 7,500 votes, while George himself polled only a few over 70,000 votes. Thus Henry George failed to receive an appreciably larger vote in the State at large than in the municipality.[476] Whatever influence remained in these groups was apparently used in behalf of their candidate for mayor in 1888, who received fewer than 10,000 votes.[477] As a result of Henry George's activity in 1886 Mr. Buchanan placed his name on the editorial page of his paper "For President in 1888" and added the comment that many believed that he was "elected, but counted out."[478]

Illinois was the only other State in which the United

Labor party was active. In 1887 in the city election in Chicago the nominees of the party were "all workingmen and members of labor organizations." The candidate for mayor was an iron-molder regularly employed in one of the foundries. They secured 24,000 out of 78,000 votes and elected one alderman. A few months later they made nominations for judges, but the results were less satisfactory as, of course, there were no lawyers among them. In addition the party labored under unusual disadvantages because of the very natural confusion between labor organizations and the "Anarchists".[479]

The national convention of the United Labor party met at Cincinnati the day after the Union Labor party assembled — ninety delegates being in attendance. As its candidate for President it nominated Robert H. Cowdrey of Illinois and for Vice President William H. T. Wakefield of Kansas. The platform emphasized as a "fundamental wrong — the making of the land on which all must live the exclusive property of but a portion of the community" — and it favored the use of legal tender notes instead of the existing banking system, the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, labor legislation as merely remedial, the simplification and diminution of the expense of legal processes, and the Australian ballot.[480]

Unsuccessful efforts to unite the two labor parties were made, and early in August a conference of leaders was held in Chicago for that purpose; but as the Union Labor representatives demanded the withdrawal of the entire United Labor ticket, no agreement was reached. The canvass of the smaller party was "not pushed with enthusiasm, and except in New York and Illinois it polled only a scattering vote." [481]

In 1888 Henry George himself, speaking at a series of crowded mass meetings in Cooper Union, supported Mr. Cleveland upon the tariff issue. It was charged that some of the managers of the United Labor party had openly worked for the Republican candidate on election day. Perhaps the charge was made with reason, as one of the early acts of the new administration was to appoint several members of that party to federal offices.[482]

The election results for 1888 give the Union Labor party nearly 147,000 votes,[483] of which the distribution geographically [484] was as follows: western and northwestern States, 97,236; southern and southwestern States, 40,333; middle States, 6,011; Pacific States, 1,629; and New England States, 1,627.

States contributing more than five thousand votes were the following: Kansas, 37,726; Missouri, 18,632; Iowa, 9,105; Wisconsin, 8,552; Illinois, 7,090; Texas, 29,459; and Arkansas, 10,613.

Consequently the bulk of the vote — 117,000 out of 147,000 — came from the West and South, as had the vote of previous radical and reform parties. In other words the Union Labor party was to a large extent a new name for the Greenback Labor party. Such an opinion is also supported by the presence in the party of many of the leaders who had been active in the earlier party. It failed as have all attempts down to the present time to unite effectively the radicals of the West and South with similar groups in the industrial sections of the East.

The Greenback Labor party gradually disappeared and in its place emerged the Union Labor party. During 1885 the Greenback vote in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio was only a little more than two thousand in each State.[485] In 1886 they figured in elections in Missouri,

Michigan, Nebraska, and Ohio in the West, and in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont in the East.[486] A call was issued for a convention of the National Greenback party at Cincinnati on September 12, 1888, but there is no record of such a meeting. Another call signed by the chairman of the national committee, for a conference at Indianapolis in August, 1890, was issued, the purpose stated being "to secure a better organization of the Greenback party for the campaign of '92."[487]

In Wisconsin in 1886 a Labor or People's State Convention nominated a full State ticket and at the election the vote for its candidate for Governor was 21,467, of which 12,914 were cast in Milwaukee County. A Labor Representative, Henry Smith, was elected to Congress from the fourth district [Milwaukee].[488]

Union Labor efforts at State elections during the year 1887 led to the following results:[489]

STATE	OFFICIALS	UNION LABOR VOTE	TOTAL VOTE
Michigan	Judges	27,000–32,000	300,000
Ohio	Governor	24,711	700,000
Pennsylvania	Treasurer Judge	16,000–18,000	700,000
Kentucky	Governor	4,434	275,000
Nebraska	Judges	2,635	150,000
Massachusetts	Governor	595	250,000

In 1888 the Union Labor party was active in nearly all the States, but the statistics are very incomplete, information being available for only a small number of States. In the South it appears that Alabama, Arkansas, and Texas had State organizations, and very frequently the Republicans named no candidates but supported the Union Labor nominees.[490]

In the West it appears that Colorado, Indiana, Kansas,

Minnesota, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin had full-fledged parties that nominated State tickets and received a considerable vote. Of these States, Kansas cast 35,837 votes for the candidate for Governor, and Missouri recorded 15,438 votes for the same official; while in the other States named the vote ranged from 2000 to 9000.[491] In Minnesota a conference of farmers and labor organizations nominated Ignatius Donnelly for Governor; but a few weeks later Mr. Donnelly declined and announced his intention of supporting "the Republican ticket as the surest way of securing the demands of the laboring man."[492]

In Illinois Henry D. Lloyd was nominated for Congress from one of the Chicago districts after the Democrats had asked him to be their candidate. The latter did not actually nominate him when his acceptance bore the condition that he would not make a speech or spend one cent for campaign purposes. Because of his refusal to use the customary methods his candidacy was described as "Walking for Congress."[493]

Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr headed the ticket as the nominee for Governor in Colorado. De La Matyr was the pastor of the First Methodist Church in Denver — one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic churches in that city. He had been a prominent Greenbacker and always the friend of the workingmen. "That friendship finally cost him his Denver pulpit."[494]

Among the eastern States it appears that Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania had Union Labor organizations, but New York and Pennsylvania were the only States in which the party manifested any strength. In New York the candidate for Judge received 3,841 votes, while the Socialist candidate received 3,523

votes. In Pennsylvania the nominee for the same office had 3,877 votes. To be sure this office does not give a labor party an opportunity to show its real strength because of the nature of the office and the need of legal knowledge.[495]

In December, 1889, at St. Louis an agreement was arranged between committees representing the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor. The platform of principles that formed the basis for the arrangement contained seven main items: (1) the "abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal-tender Treasury notes issued in sufficient volume to do the business of the country on a cash system"; (2) the prevention of dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; (3) the free and unlimited coinage of silver; (4) the prohibition of alien ownership of land, and the reclamation of land held by railroads and corporations in excess of actual need — such land to be held for actual settlers only; (5) taxation should "not be used to build up one interest or class at the expense of another", and "all revenues . . . . [should be] limited to the necessary expenses of the Government, economically and honestly administered"; (6) the issue by Congress of "a sufficient amount of fractional paper currency to facilitate exchange through the medium of the United States mail"; and (7) the means of communication and transportation should be "controlled by and operated in the interest of the people, as is the United States postal system."[496]

The agreement and platform was signed by eighteen representatives of the Farmers' Alliance and by three representatives of the Knights of Labor. The numerical relation of these two committees roughly corresponds to

the comparative strength of the two main elements composing the new radical party that was in process of formation. Allowance, however, must be made for the fact that the Knights of Labor were declining in strength and that the Federation of Labor — which was the growing organization — was unrepresented. The farmers were still, as indeed they had been since the early seventies, the backbone and major portion of the successive reform movements. This St. Louis conference was held on the eve of the appearance on the national stage of the People's or Populist party.

It was agreed that "the legislative committees of both organizations [should] act in concert before Congress for the purpose of securing the enactment of laws in harmony with the demands." No other kind of combined action resulted from the conference since, because of "the single-tax tendencies of the Knights, the farmers were chary of any closer union." [497]

Political happenings in Arkansas during the years 1888-1890 illustrate the relation of the Union Labor and Populist parties as they existed in the South. A convention of the first-named organization met in April, 1888, and adopted resolutions favoring the reforms asked for by the Agricultural Wheel, Farmers' Alliance, and Knights of Labor, and nominated a State ticket. The candidates received the support of labor organizations, "especially those of the farmers, of which the Agricultural Wheel is the most considerable in the State." The Republicans also accepted the nominations of the Union Labor party. At the election in November the Democratic majority was reduced by more than two thousand votes.[498]

The following year when only three judges were to be

elected the Republicans nominated two candidates, accepting the "Independent or Granger" candidate for the third place. Little interest was taken in the election and only about one-half of the regular vote was cast.[499]

In 1890 the precedent of 1888 was followed, the Republicans adopting the nominees of the Union Labor convention. The Democrats carried the election by an increased vote over that of two years before — the plurality being 21,086 as compared with 1888, when it was 14,981.[500]

Put the Democratic party in the West in the place of the Republicans in the South, think of the Democrats fusing with the Independents or quietly going over to them without party action, and supplement these forces with many dissatisfied Republicans and you have the genesis of the Populist party in that section and the basis for its successes in 1890 and 1892. Each new party — Granger, Greenback, and Populist — like advancing waves on the beach, progressed a little farther, rose a little higher, and threatened more seriously the rule of the great parties.

A "Union party" appeared in Oregon in 1889 and 1890. It was described as an effort "to form an amalgamated party, which should include Prohibitionists, Grangers, Free-Traders, Greenbackers, American party men, Knights of Labor, Union Labor men, Woman Suffragists, and any others disaffected with the two leading parties." Many delegates attended the State convention at which the party was organized and the name adopted. The object was declared to be "to secure influence and standing in the canvass of 1890 by a union of forces."

The platform contained six main articles: (1) prohibition of the use of intoxicating liquors; (2) a national monetary system without the intervention of banks; (3)

regulation of all transportation by national and State law; (4) restoration of unearned land grants for actual settlers; (5) requirement of ten years' residence for foreigners and "a definite test of knowledge of our institutions as conditions of citizenship"; and (6) "arbitration that will prevent strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes." [501]

The party lasted over into 1890, when there was a partial fusion with the Democrats, whose candidates for Governor and Supreme Court Judge were endorsed. The Democrats had renominated Governor Pennoyer who had been elected in 1886 for the four-year term. They succeeded in reëlecting him, but the remainder of the State offices were filled by the Republicans. Pennoyer received 38,919 votes, as against 33,786 given to the Republican candidate. Where the Union party made separate nominations its vote was less than three thousand. The Democrats favored free silver and the election of United States Senators by direct vote.[502]

PART IV
THE POPULIST MOVEMENT

XV

SOURCES OF THE POPULIST PARTY

The period from 1880 to 1890 was a complex one. On the surface the great event in politics was the defeat of the Republicans in 1884 and the return to power of the Democrats for the first time since 1860. A more discriminating view will recognize the increasing influence of economic forces upon the course of politics — especially in the West. The independent parties which began to appear in the early seventies had come to be relatively permanent features of American political life though under changing names. Their activity assumed broader aspects, extending from railroads and currency to industry in general. Merely to mention two significant intances, there were the Anti-Monopoly party of 1884 and the Union Labor party of 1888.

These two parties bridged the interval between the Greenback party and the People's party. The influences that led to the formation of the latter party are to be found in the conditions in the West and South, particularly during the years immediately preceding the year 1890. The business of farming was unprofitable. With the best of management the average farmer could not make both ends meet. "Every year closes with debt, and the mortgage grows till it devours the land. . . . A large share of recent corn crops has been consumed for fuel; and over vast areas . . . . wheat sells at from 40 to 50 cents, oats at from 9 to 12 cents, and corn at

from 10 to 13 cents a bushel, and fat cattle at from 1½ to 3 cents a pound.'' [503]

Many reasons were given by the farmers for these conditions, such as ''mono-metallism, deficient or defective circulating medium, protective tariffs, trusts, dressed-beef combinations, speculation in farm products, over-greedy middlemen, and exorbitant transportation rates.'' Whatever may be the correct diagnosis of the situation, there are strong reasons for believing that the root of the difficulty was over-production; that more wheat, corn, oats, beef, and pork had been raised than the country could consume.[504]

Another cause of considerable importance was the ''enormous tribute which the farmers of the West are paying to the money-lenders of the East''. In Dane County, Wisconsin, during the year 1889 the number of mortgages filed was four hundred and sixty-seven; the average amount was $1,252; the total amount was $584,-727.80; and only nine were given for purchase money. The logical inference must be that the larger proportion of these mortgages were extorted by necessity. ''Not their hope of increased prosperity makes them incur these debts so often as the pressure of obligations which have been incurred and which must be met.'' [505]

Some Kansas statistics of mortgages, gathered during the spring and summer of 1890, while incomplete and unofficial, give a vivid impression of the actual situation. Eighty-two cases show the conditions of 3,107 Kansas farmers. Of these 350 had their farms free from mortgage, 1,030 occupied rented farms, and 1,727 held farms under mortgage. The amount of money for which the farms were mortgaged was $1,464,706. The average mortgage exceeded one thousand dollars. As Kansas

was estimated to contain 270,000 farms, the total mortgage indebtedness among farmers was $146,563,000.[506] Evidently there is in this exhibit one explanation of the prominence of Kansas in the Populist movement — an answer to the famous question "What is the Matter with Kansas?"

As a matter of course the western settler has always been a borrower of eastern capital. "He needed money at the outset to redeem the barren lands stretching out before him. He has needed extra funds ever since to enlarge his original holding . . . . for years the Western farmer has toiled assiduously, striving to save enough to pay off his Eastern debt after providing at least a decent living for his family. The harder he labored, and the greater the amount of produce he sent to Eastern markets, just so much the more difficult — or so it seemed to him — it grew to keep up with the ever-accruing interest on his Eastern farm mortgage. This strange contradiction grew year by year more apparent, and, though he discussed it vigorously with his neighbors, still for a long time the true causes of the difficulty were beyond his comprehension." [507]

The silver-miner pointed out to the perplexed farmer the cause of the trouble. "Europe and the East had secretly demonetized" silver "to serve their own ends . . . . only a war to the very knife with the Money Power of the Eastern States could save" them. While the farmer by increasing production was adding to the number of business exchanges to be made, it was pointed out by the advocates of silver, eastern bankers and moneyed men had through the demonetization of silver reduced by one-half the volume of the circulating medium. That which remained was also constantly in-

creasing in value from natural causes. Every piece of money must, therefore, be made to do double work in order that all exchanges should be carried out. The interest paid to eastern money-lenders must be paid with the reduced amount of money, while no change had been made in the amount of indebtedness. The solution of the problem was to be found in the free and unlimited coinage of silver, by which the supply of money would be made sufficient to facilitate the business transactions made necessary by the development of the last twenty years, and by which the volume of the currency might be constantly expanded to keep pace with the increased exchanges required by the future growth of agriculture. By an increase in the amount of money better prices for farm products would be secured, and means would be obtained to pay off the burdensome eastern debts. A scarcity of money, it was declared, was at the bottom of all the trouble.[508]

Another phase of the situation is illustrated by the statement that the "farmer has been content to refer questions of finance to the banker. Every autumn . . . . hundreds of millions of dollars worth of crops" make "a demand for millions of currency. The supply of money at that season is inadequate to meet the demand. Hence, the price of crops falls relatively and the price of money advances. Year after year the farmer has been forced to sell in a glutted market and buy in times of scarcity. He demands a system of finance that shall make the supply of money at all times equal to the demand. He wants an elastic currency that shall do the money work of the nation with justice to both buyer and seller, to both creditor and debtor. But the bankers appear to confess that they cannot produce a medium of

exchange and a standard of deferred payment that is capable of meeting the exigencies." [509]

The result of the interaction of these different influences was the growth of a demand for the free coinage of silver that "one might almost liken . . . . to the religious doctrines of the early Middle Ages, so deep-rooted is the Westerner's belief in its dogma . . . . to each and every Westerner the free coinage of silver became at once an intensely personal question, involving as they all honestly believe, that most sacred right to the fruits of their own toil. Against them they fancy they see arrayed the great Moneyed Powers of Europe and the East, ready to snatch the very bread from their mouths, and anxious only to shackle them more closely to their vested interests in the future than they have enslaved them already in the past. Can it be a matter of surprise, therefore, that a people who were already socially amalgamated should now unite in a strong political party to accomplish their end, especially when the personal interests and honest convictions of every one demand the same reform?" [510]

The silver-miner and the farmer of the West found allies in the South. The southern planters were heavily burdened with debts — which had been contracted during the period of Reconstruction — and they had also been compelled to sell their crops "during the last twenty years in a constantly falling market". The same arguments could be used there as had been used in the West. In the South, too, criticism of the tariff appealed to the free-trade sentiment and was used to reinforce the argument for the free coinage of silver. St. Louis as a manufacturing district and a commercial center coöperated in the hope of reëstablishing the old-time importance of the

Mississippi River. In this way the West planned to boycott the East, the manufacturing interests of which "must decline if they cut off her supply of raw materials; while at the same time the industries of the Mississippi valley will be forced into prominence. On the basis of free silver and free trade, a flourishing trade must then spring up with the Silver-standard countries, which all need our products, and in the end the Eastern States will find themselves cut off from this market".[511]

Evidently the plan was based upon the break-up of the Solid South as a political unit. The South adopted to a considerable extent the western propaganda for silver by the conversion of the Democratic party to that doctrine, but the Republican antecedents of many western Populists made the situation untenable, and the complete alliance necessary to success failed to be accomplished. The same race problem that has continued to prevent the break-up of the Solid South down to the present time ran counter to the plans of the western leaders in the free silver agitation.

The western farmer found that he could not depend upon the banker, the railroad manager, and the politicians, and that "the solution of the problem of the future of American agriculture and of the American agriculturist" [512] rested upon himself. Such a conclusion made the organization of the farmers a necessary first step to future progress. Some of these organizations must now be described.

The National Farmers' Congress of the United States was organized in 1881 and was composed of delegates from each State, appointed by the Governors. It was "non-partisan, deliberative and advisory" in its activity. "Two hundred members, from the majority of the States,

attend the annual sessions, paying their own expenses. They represent the more wealthy and better educated agriculturists." [513]

The character of the work carried on by the Congress is suggested by the proceedings at some of its sessions. One of "the most interesting" sessions of the body was held at St. Paul on August 25-27, 1886, in which twenty-seven States were represented. Henry Wallace of Iowa discussed the "Farmer in Politics", showing to what extent the agricultural classes had been duped by the modern politician, and suggesting remedies. Mr. L. S. Coffin of Iowa read an exhaustive and able paper on "Transportation" which presented the arguments in favor of general legislation on interstate commerce.[514]

A meeting held at Montgomery, Alabama, on November 13-15, 1889, was described as "the largest gathering of representative agriculturists of the United States ever assembled." The resolutions adopted declared opposition "to all combinations of capital, in trusts or otherwise, to arbitrarily control the markets of the country to the detriment of our productive industries; and we demand of the Congress of the United States such legislation as will secure to farmers and stock raisers of the country the best possible reward for their labor." Other resolutions demanded that "all farm products shall be as fully protected as the most favored of the manufacturing industries . . . . if protection to this extent be denied, we call upon the farmers of the United States to assert their power, at the ballot-box and otherwise, to right the wrong and injustice of discrimination against them . . . . the farmers of the United States are called upon to support the nomination of no man for President, Senator, or Representative in Congress who

will not, to his utmost ability, aid in carrying out the objects of the foregoing resolutions." They also favored "commercial treaties which will discriminate in favor of those nations which accept silver as legal-tender money as well as gold, and against those which have demonetized silver." [515]

These resolutions represent the most advanced position assumed by the National Farmers' Congress upon the live political questions of the time. A partial explanation of this fact may be found first in the influence of the president of the Congress, Colonel Reuben F. Kolb of Alabama, who was active in the Farmers' Alliance, and also in the time at which the meeting was held: 1889 was the year when the political activity of the farmers was at the point of actual emergence. The Congress reasserted its non-partisan character in 1892 and condemned political activity in the supposed interests of farmers directed against the railroads in 1893.[516]

The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, has been considered in earlier chapters.[517] "Having experienced the flood and ebb of the tide which accompanies reform movements", it has since the seventies occupied itself with "the promotion of social intercourse and of distributive coöperation." [518]

The National Farmers' Alliance was formed in 1880 when the Grange was in a weakened condition as a result of its political activity. It originated in Illinois; it was not secret; and its purpose was to unite the farmers for protection against class legislation. Each State organization was practically independent and consequently there was little upon which to build up a national union. "Dakota, Missouri and New York were its outlying posts, within which the transportation question furnished a

common bond." Minnesota and Nebraska were its chief strongholds. This organization was commonly referred to as the "Northern" Alliance.[519]

The most powerful of the organizations was the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, usually known as the "Southern" Alliance. As early as 1875 an organization was formed in Texas. After an interval of inactivity it was revived in 1880, but in 1886 the break-up of this body seemed imminent. Through the efforts of Mr. C. W. Macune correspondence was opened with the representatives of the National Farmers' Alliance and the Louisiana Farmers' Union. In January, 1887, internal differences were skillfully avoided by the proposal of a general movement for the "organization of the cotton belt of America." A fusion with the Louisiana Farmers' Union was arranged and the name of National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union was adopted.[520]

Another organization, the Agricultural Wheel, originated from the "common practice for the small planter" in the South "to mortgage his ungrown crop to the country merchant for seed and food supplies. As a rule these mortgages were held to give only an equitable interest in the produce, but in Arkansas, where they were known as 'anacondas' . . . . the mortgagee was given a lien not only on all the mortgagor had, but also on all that he might in any manner acquire during the specified time . . . . the planter was bound to harvest his crop at the earliest possible date and turn all of it over to his creditor, who would give back the surplus, if there was any." The result was practically a condition of serfdom. This condition of affairs resulted in the formation of an organization in 1882 in Arkansas which had

by 1887 become a national body, claiming 500,000 members scattered through the States from Wisconsin to Alabama and Texas.[521]

These two organizations were working in the same field and some understanding became a necessity. A union was formed and the first meeting of the new body, which had adopted the name of the Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America, was set for December, 1889, at St. Louis. The National Farmers' Alliance had also appointed the same time and place for its annual meeting, and negotiations were started for the union of the two great orders then remaining. Three demands were made by the "Northern" Alliance: (1) a change of the name; (2) negroes were to be eligible to membership; and (3) secrecy should be optional with each State organization. The first two points were granted, but the third was refused — resulting in the failure of the attempt at union. Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota deserted the "Northern" Alliance and joined the secret organization.

At this St. Louis meeting a new constitution was adopted, and the name proposed by the "Northern" Alliance — the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union — was accepted. "The legislative power is vested in the Supreme Council of the Order. This council is composed of the national officers, together with delegates from the various state organizations. It meets annually, elects the usual officers, and makes all laws. The president, elected by this council, is empowered to interpret the laws through official rulings. Appeals from these rulings may be heard by the judiciary department, which is composed of three judges, elected for three-year terms, one judge retiring each year. In addition to farmers, membership is open to preachers, teachers and doctors residing in

rural districts, as well as to mechanics and editors of agricultural journals. The two last-named classes were restricted in 1890, the former by the requirement of country residence, the latter by that of unquestioning adherence to all Alliance demands.'' [522]

The platform adopted at St. Louis was accepted by the Knights of Labor and arrangements were made for joint action for the purpose of securing legislation from Congress.[523] The objects of the Alliance as stated in a ''Declaration'' were similar to those of the original Texas organization, which were ''substantially the same as that of the National Grange in 1874.''

The membership in the South was made up of small farmers and mechanics; and in 1890 it claimed 3,000,000 male members, women being also eligible. It was ''by all odds the strongest and most aggressive of the farmers' organizations''. The requirement of secrecy, instead of being an element of weakness, became ''under the skilful management of the men who have controlled it from the first'', a means of establishing a central authority which gave to the order an effectiveness it could not otherwise have attained. The location of the headquarters at Washington also contributed to bring about a similar result.[524]

In 1883 the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association was formed in Illinois; and in 1887 a national organization was established which occupied ''the country from Nebraska to North Carolina, between the two Alliances'', with its greatest strength in Illinois and Indiana. In December, 1890, it claimed a membership of 150,000. It came to be regarded, however, as ''only an appendage to the 'Southern' Alliance'', and like that body it was a secret organization.[525] Its most significant activity was

in connection with the senatorial election in 1891, when three of its members held the balance of power in the Illinois legislature and delayed the election of General Palmer until one hundred and fifty-four ballots had been taken.[526]

Besides the organizations already mentioned there were a number of others working along similar lines, some in unison and others in opposition. The Colored Farmers' National Alliance was founded in Texas in 1886, and in 1891 its adult male membership was estimated as 700,000. Its work was mainly educational. The Supreme Association of the Patrons of Industry of North America originated in Michigan. It claimed a membership of 80,000, and its avowed purpose was "to labor together for the promotion of the interests of farmers and employees, and the good of the nation of which we are a part."[527]

As the various organizations were formed, friction between them became frequent, and the desirability of combination was generally recognized. The leaders of the "Southern" Alliance were especially active in their efforts to bring about a union of all the farmers' organizations. At Ocala, Florida, a merger was effected between the "Southern" Alliance, the Mutual Benefit Association, and the Colored Alliance; and at Washington in January, 1891, delegates met representing the "Southern" Alliance, the Knights of Labor, and the Citizens' Alliance, a secret organization whose purposes were similar to those of the farmers and which aimed to include "the great body of business and professional men" who "come in daily contact with the farmer" and "not only sympathize with him, but in a business way are compelled to share his losses and misfortunes." According

to "the terms of the Ocala agreement the confederation which was formed was bound to accept the St. Louis platform as a basis. In the confederation the committee from each order is 'entitled to as many votes as it has members who are legal voters'." The American Federation of Labor would not coöperate with the Alliances on the ground that they were "composed of employing farmers." [528]

The "demands" of the farmers were contained in platforms adopted by different meetings of their representatives in 1889 and 1890, of which the St. Louis and Ocala conventions were more often referred to. The St. Louis platform of December, 1889, contained eight planks, "concerning the free coinage of silver, abolition of national banks, sub-treasuries, plenty of paper money, government ownership of railroads, non-ownership of land by foreigners, prohibition of futures in grain, and the reduction of the nation's income to expenses." The Ocala platform of December, 1890, differed very little from the one adopted at St. Louis. "The sub-treasury scheme was not endorsed . . . . and the government ownership of railroads and telegraphs was changed to government control. A reduction of heavy tariff duties was here demanded".[529]

The St. Louis and Ocala platforms represent the views of the "Southern" Alliance. At the same time the "Northern" Alliance adopted a platform, of which the chief points were opposition to alien and corporate ownership of land; abolition of national banks and the government issue of money "in sufficient volume for the requirements of business"; government bonds; a graded income tax; economy and retrenchment in governmental expenditure; revision and reduction of the tariff; "the

moral, manual and intellectual training of the young"; government ownership and management of the railroads; the payment of the debt of the Union and Pacific railroads; "a ship canal connecting the great lakes with the Gulf of Mexico, and a deep water harbor on the southern coast in view of opening trade relations with the Central and South American states"; national aid to "experiments to determine the practicability of irrigation"; sympathy with the just demands of labor; the Australian ballot "or some similar system of voting"; "the enactment of laws regulating the nomination of candidates for public office"; and the "diversification of our productive resources." Upon the points emphasized in these three documents the political campaign of 1890 was waged. Though no definite political party was formed until the following year, the members of the Alliances had common principles and to a considerable extent common leadership.[530]

In July, 1890, an official census of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, made by the secretary showed the membership as follows:

In the Southern States			
Alabama	75,000	Missouri	150,000
Arkansas	100,000	North Carolina	100,000
Florida	20,000	South Carolina	50,000
Georgia	100,000	Tennessee	100,000
Kentucky	80,000	Texas	150,000
Louisiana	20,000	Virginia	50,000
Maryland	5,000	West Virginia	2,000
Mississippi	60,000		
		Total	1,062,000

In the Western States			
Colorado	5,000	Kansas	100,000
Illinois	2,000	North Dakota	40,000
Indiana	5,000	South Dakota	50,000
		Total	202,000

The secretary stated that the membership, including some estimates for States not fully organized, was 1,269,500, scattered through twenty-two States. "Since Aug. 1, 1890, when these figures were compiled, the growth of the order has been large in nearly all the States, and the claim that the Alliance contains 3,000,000 members is perhaps correct." [531]

XVI

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1890 AND THE FORMATION OF THE NEW PARTY

The "campaign of 1890 was the most thrilling ever known in the West. The country school-houses were packed with excited throngs. County, district and State conventions were attended by great crowds of eager, earnest and indignant farmers. The excitement and enthusiasm were contagious, and the Alliance men deserted their former parties by thousands. Putting a gill of fact and grievance into a gallon of falsehood and lurid declamation, these oratorical Alliance quacks doled out an intoxicating mixture. In vain the reports of the meetings were suppressed by the partisan press. In vain the Republican and Democratic leaders sneered at and ridiculed this new gospel, while they talked tariff and War issues to small audiences. . . . All the ridicule, abuse and evasion aided wonderfully the Alliance cause. Its members shouted that they were being persecuted in their 'battle for human rights,' and converts came more rapidly. Thus was produced that clamoring brood of Peffers, Simpsons, Kems and McKeighans and the hundred other political rain-makers who proclaimed their virtue on the Western prairies in 1890." [532]

The startling features of this remarkable campaign were not confined to the West, but extended to the South where "the action of the farmers was analagous to that tersely described by the president of a state Alliance in a

private letter: 'Being Democrats and in the majority, we took possession of the Democratic party.' '' [533]

As a result of the congressional and State elections in November, 1890, there were elected in the South through Alliance influence three Governors, one United States Senator, and thirty Congressmen — exclusive of the fourteen from Missouri, where a Union Labor ticket complicated the situation. The Alliance also controlled a majority in five State legislatures. In the West the farmers elected two United States Senators and eight Congressmen. They had a majority in two State legislatures.[534]

Again in this election ''for a second time since 1874'', the Republicans were overwhelmed ''by a tidal wave of popular anger.'' ''Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and Nebraska elected forty-four Democrats and Independents, and fifteen Republicans, in place of forty-four Republicans and eighteen Democrats in 1888. The Democrats gained a majority even in New England.'' [535] The most influential issue in this election was undoubtedly the McKinley Tariff Act, so far as the country at large was concerned; but in the Middle West the ''political revolution'' was just as certainly determined by the activity of the farmers. As in 1874 and 1882 the strength of the ''third party'' was registered in the votes taken away from the Republicans and given partly to independent candidates and partly to the Democrats. The new force in politics ''sided uniformly with the Democratic party'' in the South, ''but in the Western States it worked, for the most part, outside of both the Republican and the Democratic party, although its strength was drawn more largely from the Republicans.'' [536]

The way in which the general results of the election were accomplished is shown by an examination of the

campaign in the different States. In Florida "members of the Farmers' Alliance formed a large portion of the convention [Democratic], and were conspicuous in its proceedings. The platform is as much a declaration of alliance principles as of Democratic doctrine." At the November election the Democrats elected nearly all the members of the legislature, "a majority of whom are also members of the Farmers' Alliance." [537]

During 1889 the growth of the Farmers' Alliance in Georgia was so rapid, that when early in 1890 it became active in politics, it found itself able to dictate terms to the Democrats. It announced through its officials "that every candidate for office, in order to receive the Alliance support, must pledge himself to certain principles", among which were legislation restricting railroads, the revision of the tariff, the prevention of speculation and combines, the abolition of the national banking system, and the enactment of "the Sub-Treasury bill of the National Alliance now pending in Congress, or some better system for the relief of the struggling masses". The farmers controlled the Democratic convention and nominated their candidate for Governor without opposition. The Republicans made no nominations, and at the election the Democratic candidates received the entire vote cast. Only four members of Congress (out of ten) were reëlected, "the others being defeated for renomination at the primaries by the influence of the Farmers' Alliance." [538]

In North Carolina the Democratic platform was "substantially a reaffirmation of the principles of the Farmers' Alliance, whose members were in a majority in the convention." [539]

The campaign in South Carolina lasted more than nine months, beginning in January, when the "Farmers' As-

sociation'' issued a call for a convention to be held in March at which ''the demands of the farmer were to be formulated and a ticket for State officers put in the field, for ratification or rejection by the regular Democratic State Convention. . . . The convention adopted a platform which recognized the allegiance of the delegates to the Democratic party. The convention selected Benjamin R. Tillman as its candidate for Governor''. Their candidate for Lieutenant Governor declined later ''on the ground that he could not subscribe to the platform, although he was in sympathy with the farmers' movement.'' No other nominations were made and it was understood that the action of the convention was subject to ratification by the Democratic State Convention. An active canvass before the primaries was begun in May by Mr. Tillman, who ''sought to unite the farmers under his leadership against what he termed the ruling aristocracy of the State.'' When the party conventions were held in August and September, the ''Tillmanites'' outnumbered their opponents ''nearly five to one.'' The Republicans nominated no candidates and an independent Democratic candidate nominated in October received only 14,828 votes to 59,159 votes cast for Mr. Tillman. ''The members of the Legislature, elected at the same time, were all Democrats and largely followers of Tillman.'' [540]

Kansas was the State in the West where the farmers won their most startling successes, and it came somehow to be regarded as particularly representative of the Populist movement. The statement made by a New York editor that ''we do not want any more States until we can civilize Kansas'' was answered by the question ''Is New York more Civilized than Kansas?'' [541]

The campaign was ''remarkable for the breaking down

of old party lines." The Farmers' Alliance began its activity in 1888, and "during 1889 it enjoyed a surprising growth, absorbing the State Grange", and beginning the year 1890 with over 100,000 members. The growing power of the organization tempted the leaders to enter politics, and in order to avoid "transforming the Alliance directly into a political organization, they united in creating a so-called People's party, which adopted the Alliance principles and which every Alliance man was urged to support." The State convention of the new party, which was held in August at Topeka, nominated a State ticket and adopted a platform containing the customary statements about the currency and banks. "The Republicans became thoroughly alarmed at the defections from their ranks, and, in their endeavors to hold the party together went so far as to assail the character of the gubernatorial candidate of the People's party. The charges . . . . were based upon the official records of the county court, and it is probable that the publication of these records saved the Republicans from defeat. They elected their entire ticket, with one exception, but their plurality of nearly 80,000 in 1888 was reduced to barely one tenth of those figures." The farmers elected ninety members of the lower house of the legislature, while the Republicans and Democrats elected twenty-seven and eight, respectively. Of the ninety Alliance representatives sixty-two had been Republicans. Of the congressional delegation two were Republican and five were People's and fusion.[542]

The political contest in Nebraska "exceeded in interest any in recent years." There was a State-wide discussion of prohibition, and at the same time the Alliance was active among the farmers in arousing opposition to the

railroads because of alleged excessive freight rates on agricultural products. The tariff policy of the Republicans was also attacked, and "the farmers were urged to protest against the wrongs they were suffering, by independent political action." In July a convention met at Lincoln to form a "People's Independent" party, composed of representatives of the State Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, and the Knights of Labor. It also named a State ticket and adopted a platform. There were eight hundred and seventy-three delegates present, representing seventy-seven counties. The proceedings were stormy and the convention was described as "an uncontrollable mob." [543] "At the November election the defection from the Republican ranks was so great as to wipe out the usual Republican plurality for the head of the ticket and to reduce the Republican plurality for the remaining offices to a few thousand votes." On the face of the returns the Democratic candidate for Governor was elected by 1,224 votes over the Independent candidate. As soon as the results were "officially ascertained", however, the Independents declared their intention of contesting the election upon the grounds of "fraud, conspiracy, intimidation, bribery, unlawful voting, and unlawful procedure in the election at Omaha, as well as charges of bribery, unlawful voting, and unlawful procedure" in at least eleven specified counties. In the State Senate the Independents had a majority and in the House of Representatives they had fifty out of the one hundred members. The congressional delegation was composed of one Democrat, one Democrat and Independent, and one Independent.[544]

A convention of the Farmers' Alliance and Knights of Labor, held in South Dakota in June, decided by a vote

of four hundred and thirteen to eighty-three to form a new political party to be called the Independent Party. Candidates were nominated by the new party at a convention held early in July. Mr. H. L. Loucks, President of the State Farmers' Alliance, was the candidate nominated for Governor. During the campaign the Independents "showed unexpected activity, attracting large numbers of the agricultural class to its support; but, although its growth was largely at the expense of the Republican party, the strength of that party was so great that its entire ticket was elected by a considerable majority." The Independents elected fourteen members of the State Senate and forty-five members of the House of Representatives.[545]

Independent action was taken in Minnesota during the State campaign under Alliance leadership. At a convention held at St. Paul in July a platform was adopted and nominations made for Governor and other State officers. Some of these candidates were also nominees of other parties. "The rapid growth in popularity of Alliance principles was a marked feature of the canvass." All the Republican candidates except one were elected, but the independent candidates made a respectable showing. They elected twelve members of the State Senate and thirty-three members of the lower house. The congressional delegation was made up of three Democrats, one Republican, and one Alliance.[546]

Representatives of the Patrons of Industry, the Farmers' Alliance, and various labor organizations formed the Industrial party and nominated a State ticket in Michigan. The election "resulted in the first complete triumph of the Democratic party since the State election in 1854." Eight Democratic and three Republican Congressmen

were elected. The Industrial party candidate for Governor polled 13,198 votes.[547]

In Indiana "delegates representing the former Greenback-Labor party, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Farmers' Alliance, the Grange, and other farmer organizations, political and otherwise, assembled at Indianapolis to form a new party in the interest of the agricultural classes." They named the new party "the People's party". Of the thirteen members of Congress, the Republicans elected only two. Altogether 17,354 votes were cast for the head of the People's party ticket.[548]

The Prohibitionists and the Farmers' Alliance formed a coalition in North Dakota and a fusion ticket made up of four Republicans, four Democrats, and four Independents was agreed upon. The candidate for Governor, an Independent, received 4,821 votes, but all the Republican nominees were elected.[549]

In Colorado delegates from the "Farmers' Alliance, the Union Labor party, and other organizations" met at Denver in August to agree upon an "independent fusion ticket for State officers." The election, though complicated by local issues, resulted favorably to the Republicans by a reduced vote.[550]

Although the farmers in Illinois made no efforts to nominate an independent State ticket, they were active and in some cases nominated their own candidates for the legislature. The only State officers to be elected were a Treasurer, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Trustees of the State University. The Republicans elected only six of the twenty Congressmen — a loss of seven. They were also defeated in the election for State officers.[551]

The Farmers' Congress in 1889 declared that the farmers were not bound to support any candidates "for President, Senator, or Representative in Congress" who did not aid in carrying out the measures desired by them.[552] A State convention of farmers' organizations in Delaware proposed in 1890 that a committee in each county hold meetings "as speedily as possible after the tickets of the political parties are nominated, to consider whether or not the men so nominated are men who, if elected, will represent the interests of the people, and recommend the election of such only as in their judgment will represent the people's interest." [553]

The plan of action of the Farmers' Alliance (the "Southern" Alliance) was "to agree first upon a needed reform, and then endeavor to persuade each political party to use its influence to legislate to that effect, and if all the parties fail, it will devise ways to enforce it. . . . If legislation can not be shaped in any other way, it will nominate its own candidates." In its annual convention at St. Louis in 1889 "friendly greetings were exchanged with the Greenback party and the Single-tax party." [554]

The Alliance in the South maintained a non-partisan position. "Governor Tillman of South Carolina was not nominated but only indorsed by the Alliance; and so in the other Southern states, all that was done was accomplished within the old party lines; when defeated there, the farmers accepted the situation." [555]

"In the West, and especially in Kansas, the extreme bitterness of the old party press contributed principally to swell the demand for a third party, which was supported at Ocala mainly by the representatives from that region. . . . The over-eager advocates . . . . led by the socialist-union-labor wing of the Kansas dele-

gation at Ocala, on December 15 issued a call for a national convention to meet in Cincinnati February 23, 1891. But the Supreme Council of the 'Southern' Alliance refused to unite in the call. Instead, it referred the matter to its committee on confederation, — the committee authorized to work for the consolidation of the many unions on the basis of the St. Louis platform. This committee met in Washington January 22, 1891, and issued invitations to all industrial organizations in the nation to send delegates to its next annual meeting. By thus referring the matter to the states, it bides the time when its constituents shall speak. The cold reception of the call for February, 1891, led its agitators to postpone the date until May 19." [556]

A People's party was organized in Kansas to avoid the transformation of the Alliance into a partisan organization; but the membership was practically the same because every Alliance member was urged to join the new movement. In Nebraska a "Peoples Independent" party was made up of members of the Grange, the Alliance, and the Knights of Labor; while in South Dakota an "Independent party" was organized by the joint action of the Alliance and the Knights of Labor. Finally, in Minnesota independent political action was taken by similar organizations, while Michigan formed the "Industrial" party and Indiana a "People's" party. All these organizations came into existence during 1890 and consequently preceded the call for the formation of a national party.[557]

The successes won by the farmers in the various States in November, 1890, made almost certain an attempt to form a national party which would be ready to take a hand in the next presidential campaign. In an editorial

dated December 12, 1890, a Democratic newspaper in Iowa declared that "it looks now as though the Third Party movement would materialize into something more than talk." The editor thought that "the farmers could better and surer and quicker secure the principal good things they ask for, by uniting their forces with the democratic party, yet it sees no great objection to the formation of such a party." Probably this conclusion was reached more easily because the States most effected were Republican States in the West and the voters most affected were Republicans. Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Nebraska, and Kansas seemed "likely to go democratic, because the larger share of the farmers vote is republican. . . . Possibly the new party might develop enough strength to carry Kansas, Nebraska, the Dakotas and Minnesota." [558]

During December the call was issued from Kansas for a national conference at Cincinnati to form a "National Union" party, for which preparations had been made at Ocala. The chairman of the State committee of the People's party refused to join in the call for a meeting in February because the Kansas legislature would then be in session and the leaders there could not attend at that time. The call invited the "Independent, the People's and Union Labor parties, Federal and Confederate soldiers, the Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Citizens' Alliance, the Knights of Labor and the Colored Farmers' Alliance" to send delegates. All other organizations that supported "the principles of the St. Louis agreement of December, 1889," were also included.[559]

In January, 1891, representatives from the Knights of Labor, the Colored Farmers' Alliance, the National

Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Union, and the Citizen's Alliance met at Washington to consider a plan of confederation based on the St. Louis platform of 1889. Such a plan was drawn up and adopted: it provided for an association to be known as the Confederation of Industrial Organizations or the Industrial Federation. There was to be a national committee composed of the chairmen of the different organizations in each State; and the next meeting was to be held in February, 1892, unless sooner called. The Federation, however, did not contemplate a third party movement.[560]

The Cincinnati Conference, as already stated, was postponed until May 19, 1891, when over 1,400 delegates, three-fourths of whom were from Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, and Nebraska, assembled and formed the "People's Party of the United States of America". Resolutions were adopted calling for a conference of "all progressive organizations" at Cincinnati on February 22, 1892, and a national committee was authorized, "if no satisfactory coalition with other reform organizations could be effected, to call a convention of the People's party for the nomination of a President, to be held not later than June 14, 1892." A platform was adopted on May 20th which endorsed "the demands of the platforms as adopted at St. Louis, Mo., in 1889, Ocala, Fla., in 1890, and Omaha, Neb., in 1891".[561]

The definite results of the conference were not accomplished without considerable controversy and confusion. Prohibition, universal suffrage, and the immediate formation of a new party were subjects of heated discussion. Prohibition was "overwhelmingly defeated", and universal suffrage "met with a rather chilly reception." Mr. L. L. Polk by letter advised the issue of an address

and the postponement of the formation of a third party until 1892; while the delegates from Massachusetts and Minnesota favored immediate action. The Governor of Wisconsin began a speech against the organization of a new party, but he was forced to give up by the uproar of the opposition. The platform as presented by the committee, with some additional resolutions, was adopted almost unanimously, amid great confusion. "A portion of the convention in thunderous chorus sung to the tune of 'Good-By, My Lover, Good-By,' the words 'Good-by, old parties, good-by,' and then the doxology." [562]

Among the leaders of the new party were Senator William A. Peffer of Kansas, who was permanent chairman of the conference; General James B. Weaver of Iowa, who presided at some of the sessions; Mr. H. E. Taubeneck of Illinois, who was chosen as the chairman of the national executive committee; and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota and Robert Schilling of Wisconsin, who were members of the committee on resolutions. Mr. T. V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor was present, but not as a delegate. Of minor State leaders who were present mention may be made of Jesse Harper of Illinois (a former Greenbacker), H. L. Loucks of South Dakota, Congressman John G. Otis of Kansas, and A. J. Westfall of Iowa. Discussion over presidential candidates centered around the names of Senator Peffer, Congressman Simpson, General Weaver, and Ignatius Donnelly, all of whom, according to the *Clinton Weekly Age*, "have lightning rods on their houses." [563]

A Republican newspaper in Iowa referred to the conference as the "most grotesque political convention of magnitude that has ever assembled in the United States . . . . more farcical than the St. Louis or

Ocala convention for the reason that it lacked the unity of purpose and the courage of action of those assemblages. It was a medley of malcontents, one-idea hobbyists, unreasoning fiatists, steadily unfortunates, 'born-tired' theorists, and blatant demagogues.'' [564]

One of the organizations that gave its adherence to the People's party was the so-called ''Nationalists'' which originated in the novel, *Looking Backward*, a book published by Edward Bellamy in January, 1888, and which pictured life in the year 2000 A. D. Published at a time when public attention was directed towards social questions, it had a very large sale for a few years and became ''the book of the hour.'' Nationalist clubs were formed, beginning with one in Boston in December, 1888. The purpose of the club was described as ''the promotion of the brotherhood of man through the nationalization of industry.'' Clubs were formed in four or five large cities in the East, but a large proportion were to be found in California. The movement never had any firm foundation: it disappeared entirely after a few years.[565]

In June five members of the executive committee of the People's party met at St. Louis to prepare for the campaign of 1892. Reports were received from the various States, and it was determined to make special efforts in Kentucky and Ohio during the current year. Secretary Robert Schilling was instructed to establish a literary bureau to furnish items to the reform press, which numbered between six and seven hundred papers. A weekly letter was prepared for this purpose, and a medal commemorative of the Cincinnati convention was to be sold for campaign expenses. A constitution was adopted for People's party clubs, which it was planned to form in wards, townships, and counties with a central club in each

county. Moreover, the statement was made that the campaigns of the new party were to be conducted on an entirely different plan from those of the old parties. After the organization was completed in Kentucky and Ohio, the States of Mississippi, Minnesota, and Iowa were to be visited.[566]

In three senatorial contests early in 1891 the new party took an important part. In Illinois it appears that General John M. Palmer had been nominated for Senator by the Democratic State Convention, had spent six months campaigning, and had succeeded in electing the Democratic State ticket. The balance of power in the legislature was held by three members of the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, since the Democrats and Republicans had one hundred and one, and one hundred votes, respectively, on joint ballot. Neither the Democratic nor Republican candidates for Senator were satisfactory to the "Big Three", and they selected as their candidate Hon. A. J. Streeter,[567] who had been an active figure in Illinois politics since 1872, when he was elected a member of the lower house of the State legislature. Later he served a term in the State Senate; and in 1888 was the Union Labor candidate for President. He had always been a farmer and was known to the agriculturists of the entire West. His public life had been characterized by opposition to corporations and the championship of farmers' interests.[568] The contest began on January 20th and lasted till March 11th, when on the one hundred and fifty-fourth ballot, General Palmer was elected. After a time the Republicans became convinced that they could not elect their candidate and abandoned him. They next attempted to transfer their strength to Streeter, but a few Republicans refused to support him. Finally, two of the

"Big Three" declared that Streeter in the course of his negotiations with the Republicans had made concessions that unfitted him to represent the farmers, and although he denied such concessions, they decided to vote for Palmer as the next best candidate. Mr. Taubeneck cast the only vote for Streeter upon the final ballot.[569]

In Kansas it appears that upon the first joint ballot William A. Peffer was elected Senator over his Republican opponent, Senator John J. Ingalls, who had represented the State since 1873. Mr. Peffer was born of Dutch parentage in Pennsylvania in 1831. In 1850 he went to California and remained two years, returning to Pennsylvania with considerable money. Soon after this he moved to Indiana and later to Missouri. After serving during the Civil War in an Illinois regiment, he settled in Tennessee as a lawyer; and in 1870 moved to Kansas. At different times he edited various papers, served in the State Senate, and was a delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1880. The same year he moved to Topeka and became editor of the *Kansas Farmer*, with the publication of which he was occupied in 1891. Always a temperate man, he was at the time of his election a prohibitionist. He was a member of the Episcopal church, a Master Mason, and belonged to the Knights of Labor. He believed "the Government should aid in improving harbors and rivers in the south and in building north-and-south railroads in the west, and in irrigating lands wherever and as fast as settlement demands, and first of all the issuance of money enough to set the people on their feet again." [570]

In South Dakota forty ballots were required to settle the senatorial contest. As a result Rev. James H. Kyle of Aberdeen, the Independent candidate, was elected, re-

ceiving seventy-five votes against fifty-five for Thomas Sterling, the Republican candidate. The result was regarded "as having been brought about in some measure by the agitation of the Illinois-South Dakota reciprocity scheme." The purpose was understood to be the election in Illinois of the Democratic candidate by Independent help, in return for Democratic help to the Independents in South Dakota.[571]

Rev. James H. Kyle was a Congregational minister, born in New York State, and was about thirty-seven years old at the time of his election. A graduate of Oberlin College and of Allegheny Theological Seminary, he had held pastorates since 1884 in Colorado and South Dakota, and recently had become financial agent for Yankton College. In the election of 1890 he had been chosen to the State Senate as an Independent, "having attracted the favorable attention of the Farmers' Alliance party, it is said, by his utterances in a Fourth of July oration at Aberdeen." Early in the contest he refused to be a candidate and only yielded when he realized that it was the only possible chance for Independent success: his name first appeared on the thirty-first ballot. He was a staunch Prohibitionist and a Republican before the last election. He took his seat on the Democratic side of the Senate chamber.[572]

The political activity of the People's party has overshadowed certain other features of its program which were regarded by many of its members as of equal if not greater importance.[573] Early in June, 1891, delegates from the farmers' alliances and industrial unions of Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and Indian Territory met at Kansas City to establish an interstate union, the object of which was "to effect a business organization

and to establish an alliance newspaper. The business organization will be on the cooperative plan, and will be conducted not as a profit-making concern, but for the purpose of doing away with the middlemen and marketing farm products at the lowest possible cost. It will also purchase direct from the manufacturer all farm implements, etc., and will sell at first cost, thus effecting a considerable saving." [574]

In September newspaper statements announced that the "farmers' alliance of Kansas proclaims to the world that it proposes to establish co-operative stores in every county in the west and ultimately in every county in the United States." Editorial comment declared that "Co-operative stores have had a checkered existence. . . . The present system of conducting mercantile business is the result of a thousand or more years of experience and study. . . . The co-operative system is an innovation on the custom of those centuries . . . . co-operative stores are an unnatural system of conducting mercantile business. . . . It is injurious to legitimate trade and obnoxious to the communities where such stores are located." [575]

In November the business department of the Alliance in twenty-two States united with the leading business men of New York City, and formed a company similar in its plan of operation to the celebrated "Rochdale" system in England and the Zion coöperative stores of Utah. The National Union Company was the name given to the combination, and its plan of procedure was "to buy out a merchant in every trade center of importance, stock him up with everything he wants in the line of general every day goods demanded by the farmers, and make him the local manager of the concern." Under this arrangement

the business men would provide management and capital and the Alliance patronage.[576]

The Supreme Council of the "Southern" Alliance met at Indianapolis in November, and at this session the question of independent political action was again discussed very thoroughly. President L. L. Polk, in his annual address, recommended a conference with the Reform Press Association to consider the most satisfactory means of disseminating reform literature; he referred to the success of the lecture system in connection with which the demand for speakers exceeded the supply; and declared that the Alliance must be kept free from entanglement with any party. The suggested third party ticket of Stanford and Polk was described as the work of paid boomers, who had written all the "published articles". Stanford, he declared, would not get one Alliance vote for constable, as "his circulation bill was a pernicious measure and dreaded from the very start." [577]

The references to the non-partisan character of the Alliance were "received with about equal evidence of approval and disapproval." General Weaver was "called for and made a speech on the general situation, which was received with enthusiasm. He was followed by Congressman Jerry Simpson, of Kansas, in the same strain." The People's party leaders claimed that the "'Big Five' — Polk, Macune, Livingstone, Tillman, and Terrill — alone stand in the way of indorsing" the new party. The result of the discussion was that neither side won a decisive victory. President Polk was reëlected and H. L. Loucks of South Dakota, a member of the national committee of the People's party was made vice president. Congressmen elected by Alliance votes were

to support no one for Speaker who would not declare for the Alliance platform.[578]

Sessions of allied organizations and committees were held in connection with the general meetings of the Alliance. Of these the Reform Press Association, the State agents and the committee on the confederation of the various industrial organizations were the most important. The State agents adopted "the Roachdale plan, which contemplates cash sales at the alliance stores and a division of profits among the patrons. This is regarded as a black eye for the National Union Company." [579]

The committee on confederation referred to a subcommittee the question of calling a congress of all labor and industrial classes on February 22, 1892. It was first determined to meet at Washington, but the members from the South and West objected, and finally the selection of a place was left to a committee — a number of middle western cities being named as suitable. Considerable discussion was had as to the advisability of having nominations made at the February meeting; and it was decided at that session to draft a platform, leaving nominations for a later convention after the other parties had met. A committee was appointed to prepare an address to the laboring people on the objects of the February meeting.[580]

The greatest activity prevailed in reform circles early in 1892 — manifested especially in efforts to unite these forces into one strong party that would be able to meet the older parties more nearly upon a basis of equality. These plans in connection with the labor organizations and the Alliance have been described. In January, 1892, an organization known as the Knights of Industry was

formed in New York City "not as a rival to the Knights of Labor, but to supplement the work of that organization by political action." The plan was "to establish a labor bureau, where will be printed and published many documents written by union men belonging to the various trades. The documents will be forwarded to all parts of the country, and will be circulated in factories and shops by delegates. The central council will establish branches in all large cities of the United States, hold meetings, distribute documents, and organize the workingmen for political action. Delegates will be sent to conventions of the Republican and Democratic parties, and requests will be made that certain planks shall be put into the platforms. These will include protection to American labor and capital, reduction of the hours of labor, demands for legislation in favor of factory-inspection bills, against child, prison, and convict labor, and in favor of a system of arbitration and profit sharing that will tend to unite capital and labor and do away with strikes." [581]

During the same month a Reform Conference was held in Chicago, made up of delegates representing the Farmers' Alliance, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, "the greenback faction, the prohibitionists, the national reform party, the people's party and the union labor party." Miss Frances E. Willard presided, and in her opening address, said the plan was "to form a union of all the reform elements of the country." Another account stated that Miss Willard in the same address declared that the object was "to devise ways and means of electing a president of the United States who will 'with one blow kill the rum traffic.' " General Weaver "spoke at some length favoring the plan", and was followed by other speakers before the conference broke up into sec-

tions to decide upon planks to be proposed by the different interests represented.

After reassembling the conference discussed and adopted an "address in the form of suggestions to the meeting" to be held at St. Louis on February 22nd. The address favored greenback money; denounced the saloon; and favored government control of railroads, the limiting of land ownership, and municipal suffrage for women. A committee, composed of Dr. G. De La Matyr, Miss Willard, General Weaver, Mr. Donnelly, and three others, was appointed to present it. Considerable discussion occurred over the question of prohibition. Members of the People's party urged that the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors be conducted by the government and States at cost under conditions and restrictions laid down by the States. Donnelly, Taubeneck, and others expressed the opinion that the address would not be acceptable to their party and that the prohibition clause should be modified to provide for the personal rights of foreigners as to beer-drinking. Some of the members of the party refrained from voting upon the address as a whole.[582]

On February 22, 1892, representatives of nearly a dozen national organizations met in St. Louis. Ben Terrill of Texas called the conference to order, and after prayer and music he read "a type written document urging the convention to confine its demands to land, transportation, taxation and money, leaving 'moral reforms' till they had more time." Upon the stage, among the distinguished guests, was Miss Willard who showed dissatisfaction by a "frown of portentious proportions while, the 'third party or bust' delegates throughout the hall gave equal signs of dissatisfaction." President Polk,

the next speaker, confined his attention to the money question. He was followed by Mr. Powderly who referred to General Weaver's nomination in 1880. Mr. Donnelly of Minnesota closed the speech-making by predicting the union of the Democrats and Republicans. The wedding "ceremony would be performed at the altar of plutocracy; Grover Cleveland and Ben Harrison would act as bridesmen, the devil himself give away the bride, and Jay Gould pronounce the benediction."

Considerable difficulty arose over the permanent organization of the convention. The committee on credentials favored the seating of two hundred and forty-six delegates from the Farmers' Alliance, fifty-three from the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, eighty-two from the Knights of Labor, ninety-seven from the National Farmers' Alliance, twenty-five from the National Citizens' Alliance, ninety-seven from the colored Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, twenty-seven from the National Citizens' Independent Alliance, sixty Patrons of Industry, and twenty-five Patrons of Husbandry. "The Farmers' Alliance was given 25 delegates at large and thirteen minor detached organizations and individuals [were] given a representation of 58." The total membership approximated seven hundred and fifty. Delegates from organizations not admitted protested and declared their intention of forming a separate conference. Among the latter were the "Reform Press Association, Women's Alliance, United Order of Anti-Monopolists, Union Reform Association, Central Nationalists, Farmers' League, Alliance Assemblies, Industrial, and many smaller organizations."

Prohibition and woman suffrage were the subjects of

heated discussion. Miss Willard made a minority report from the committee on resolutions favoring prohibition and equal suffrage. Congressman Simpson declared he was satisfied with the majority report made by Mr. Donnelly. "They must cure poverty before they could intemperance." The convention split almost evenly on prohibition. Woman suffrage gave rise to a more dramatic debate than had taken place over prohibition. Mr. Powderly undertook to coach the representatives of this plank — with the result that protests were "made against the Powderly-Hayes domination" of the platform; and even the eighty-two Knights of Labor votes, cast for it after the roll call ended, did not save it from defeat, according to unofficial tally keepers, although Secretary Hayes declared that the plank carried by a vote of two hundred and fifty-four to two hundred and forty-six.

A serious split was threatened by southern delegates who were opposed to independent political action. Delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, and North Carolina announced their intention of withdrawing if definite action was taken. Efforts to have the convention appoint a committee to act with the People's party committee failed, but a mass meeting of delegates was held immediately following adjournment for this purpose. Without even leaving their seats they went right on with General Weaver in the chair, and appointed a committee to act with the national committee of the People's party to call a national nominating convention. This "much talked of committee" was composed of fifteen members, among whom were General Van Wyck of Nebraska, C. W. Macune of Texas, L. L. Polk of North Carolina, J. F.

Willits of Kansas, Ben Terrill of Texas, and Mrs. Mary E. Lease of Kansas. These two committees decided upon the date of meeting, July 4th, while the determination of the place was left to a sub-committee, Omaha and Kansas City receiving favorable mention.[583]

XVII

THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1892 AND 1894: THE POLICY OF PERMEATION

The first national nominating convention of the People's Party met at Omaha on July 2, 1892, and was called to order by Chairman Taubeneck of the national committee. Mr. C. H. Ellington of Georgia was chosen temporary chairman; and speeches were made by Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, by J. C. Manning, "the eloquent boy orator from Alabama", and by Colonel S. F. Norton of Illinois, who introduced Alexander Campbell of the same State "as the original greenbacker, formerly known among politicians as 'Old Greenbacks'." A committee on resolutions was named and the convention adjourned until Monday, July 4th. One thousand three hundred and sixty-six delegates were reported by the committee on credentials, and there were no contests.

When the convention reassembled on Monday, H. L. Loucks of South Dakota was made permanent chairman. Great confusion arose as the result of the efforts of supporters of rival candidates to hasten or delay proceedings as they thought such action would prove advantageous or disadvantageous. A large element in the convention, including Powderly and Hayes of the Knights of Labor, hoped to induce Judge Walter Q. Gresham, a prominent Republican, to accept a nomination. His popularity with the Populists was due to "several decisions and actions in his judicial capacity affecting the manage-

ment and control of railways, notably his dealings with the Wabash system''.[584] Hope that he might finally be induced to accept, if tendered the nomination unanimously, postponed nominations until late in the evening. Supporters of General Weaver were inclined to hasten proceedings. The platform was reported and discussed in the midst of the moves of the managers of rival candidates for tactical advantage. After its acceptance a remarkable demonstration of enthusiasm broke out and continued for more than ''twenty-five minutes''.[585]

Finally, definite word coming in the form of a telegram from Judge Gresham, in which he declined to accept a nomination under any conditions, the way was open to proceed to the selection of a candidate. General Weaver was nominated by Morris L. Wheat of Iowa, and this nomination was seconded by Mrs. Lease. Senator James H. Kyle was nominated by Colonel Norton; while Washburn of Massachusetts and Schilling of Wisconsin made notable speeches urging the selection of a new man like Kyle. The balloting was a ''struggle between the 'new blood', represented by Senator Kyle, of South Dakota, and the 'old guard' of the Greenbackers represented by Gen. Weaver'', who won easily with nine hundred and ninety-five votes to two hundred and sixty-five for Kyle. New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Maryland, and South Carolina were unrepresented in the vote. The greater part of Kyle's support came from the following States: Arkansas, twenty; Colorado, ten; Georgia, thirty-nine; Illinois, forty-two; Massachusetts, eighteen; Montana, twelve; Nevada, seven; Ohio, twenty-two; South Dakota, fifteen; and Wisconsin, forty-one. The nomination of a candidate for Vice President was quickly accomplished, General James G. Field of Virginia receiv-

ing seven hundred and thirty-three votes to five hundred and fifty-four cast for Ben Terrill of Texas. The convention then adjourned at three o'clock in the morning.[586]

A graphic description of the convention by a critical and somewhat unsympathetic observer points out that "no intelligent man could sit in that audience at the Coliseum building in the city of Omaha . . . . and listen to the wild and frenzied assaults upon the existing order of things, without a feeling of great alarm at the extent and intensity of the social lunacy there displayed. And when that furious and hysterical arraignment of the present times, that incoherent intermingling of Jeremiah and Bellamy, the platform, was adopted, the cheers and yells which rose like a tornado from four thousand throats and raged without cessation for thirty-four minutes, during which women shrieked and wept, men embraced and kissed their neighbors, locked arms, marched back and forth, and leaped upon tables and chairs in the ecstasy of their delirium, — this dramatic and historical scene must have told every quiet, thoughtful witness that there was something at the back of all this turmoil more than the failure of crops or the scarcity of ready cash. And over all the city during that summer week brooded the spectres of Nationalism, Socialism and general discontent." [587]

Contemporary judgments of the Omaha convention are of interest in an estimate of its importance. The editor of *The Review of Reviews* expressed the opinion that "if a man of Judge Gresham's record and standing could have been induced to leave his old party and assume the rôle of a Moses for the new movement, there would have been a great stirring up of dry bones. The People's party would have carried several States, and would have

upset all calculations in a number of others . . . . As a matter of policy, Mr. Weaver's nomination was a mistake. A new party can only rise to strength by leading away masses of men from other parties. But the masses will not readily flock to new standards, except under the generalship of some trusted leader who goes with them . . . . But Mr. Weaver has belonged to the group of third-party 'come-outers' for so many years that his name is not one to conjure with in either of the old camps. He is a public speaker of great force and ability; but his nomination suggests too strongly the abortive third-party movements of the past to excite much hope or enthusiasm . . . . The wicked politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties breathed easier and ate with better appetites when the Gresham bogie disappeared and they found their familiar old enemy, General Weaver, in the lead of the People's movement." [588]

The People's party carried on a vigorous campaign during the summer, while the Republicans and Democrats were inactive. Rumors that Judge Gresham would come out for Weaver gained currency, but were always denied. Both parties were more anxious about the strength of the new party than they cared to admit. That party fought its first great battle in Alabama early in August and the result favored the regular Democratic candidates, although there were "charges of wholesale fraud". Governor Thomas G. Jones, the regular Democratic candidate, was declared elected by a plurality of about 11,000; while R. F. Kolb, the opposing candidate supported by the People's party and the Republicans, claimed to have carried the State by 40,000. Kolb had been successful in the so-called "white" counties, but

his vote had been overcome by his opponent's larger plurality in the "black" counties where it was claimed that there had been fraud.[589]

On September 17th Weaver and Field issued an address from Pensacola in which they formally accepted the nominations. They referred to the request made of them by the national committee "to visit the various states of the Union. Already one or both of us have visited fifteen states, and if our health and strength are spared we intend to continue the work until the campaign is closed."[590] About a week later Weaver addressed a letter to the chairman of the Georgia State committee, in which he announced the abandonment of the campaign in that State, because of "the spirit of organized rowdyism at some of the points visited within the state so great as to render it inadvisable for me to attempt to fill the engagements at the points not already reached. . . . The members of our party, although apparently largely in the majority in the state, are unable to secure for us a peaceful and respectful hearing . . . . the disorder is almost exclusively confined to young roughs who infest the towns and who are incited to violence by persons who keep in the background. The country people are uniformly respectful and anxious to hear." Mrs. Lease, who accompanied General Weaver during his campaign in Georgia, described the situation there as the result of the fact that the "political lines . . . . are tightly drawn by the so-called organized Democracy in the cities as against the populists of the rural population."[591]

The general situation in the South was very different from that in the West. The fight in the former section between the People's party and the leaders of the Democratic party was exceedingly bitter; while in the West

the contest was with the Republicans, as the dominant party. As a result the People's party allied itself with the Republicans in the South and quite generally fused with the Democrats in the West. Back of all these superficial conditions was the race problem, which has kept the South from breaking up politically to the present day. Probably the fact that General Weaver had been a Union soldier had some influence, but the "impelling motive" was to preserve the Solid South. A year before he had been there and was given a hearing — in fact he had been visiting the South ever since the days of the Greenback party. In 1892 he represented "a new movement that threatens their disintegration".[592]

In South Carolina it appears that Governor Tillman had beaten the older leaders of the Democracy and had converted that party to Populism — doing in 1892 something similar to Bryan's accomplishment with the national party in 1896. The regular Democratic convention, controlled by the State administration, described Cleveland's prospective nomination "as a prostitution of the principles of Democracy, as a repudiation of the demands of the Farmers' Alliance, which embody the true principles of Democracy, and a surrender of the rights of the people to the financial kings of the country." Governor Tillman was renominated and reëlected without organized opposition. The Republicans nominated no State ticket; while the People's party had electors but no candidates for State offices.[593]

A combination of circumstances in Illinois brought about the election of John P. Altgeld as Governor. As the candidate of the Democrats he "travelled from place to place, visiting all parts of the State and seeking to meet the voters personally by entering their workshops,

offices, and other places of business, as well as by holding public receptions. This plan of campaign appears to have been effective, for at the November election the victory of the Democratic ticket was complete.'' The People's party nominated candidates for all offices, State and national, but the vote cast for them was small — less than 20,000 out of a total of over 800,000.[594] General Palmer's successful campaign for the United States Senate in 1890, together with the advanced position which he maintained in the debate in that body which arose out of the Homestead riot in July, undoubtedly added strength to the Democratic campaign. He maintained ''the right of factory and railroad employes to continuous employment at reasonably fair rates of compensation.'' [595] Governor Altgeld showed his interest in the people by his novel method of campaigning, and his views were known to be radical in the extreme. His pardon of the three Anarchists in June, 1893, illustrated his independence and courage; while his advocacy of free silver in 1896 indicated that his sympathies were with the masses of the people. From 1892 to 1896 he was the unquestioned leader of the Illinois Democracy.[596]

In Kansas the Democrats ''after a heated discussion, voted to adopt all the nominations made by the People's party . . . . both for the State offices and for presidential electors. The Democratic national ticket was approved''. A large number of Democrats were opposed to the surrender of the State convention and they called a new convention, early in October, which was attended by more than five hundred delegates, representing about fifty counties. No nominations were made because it was deemed too late in the campaign; but an address was issued to the Democrats of the State, ''advising the voters

to defeat the ticket of the People's party''. In spite of this opposition the People's party carried the State for both of its tickets and also elected five out of the seven Congressmen.[597]

—At the general election in November, Cleveland received 5,554,226 votes, Harrison 5,175,202, and Weaver 1,041,577. Of the four hundred and forty-four electoral votes Cleveland received two hundred and seventy-seven, Harrison one hundred and forty-five, and Weaver twenty-two. For the first and only time between 1860 and 1912 a third party candidate had won a place in the electoral college. The States that voted for Weaver were Colorado four votes, Idaho three, Kansas ten, Nevada three, North Dakota one, and Oregon one. The Democrats nominated no electors in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming, but voted for the People's party candidates. In Nevada they named a ticket, but voted chiefly for the Populist electors. In North Dakota and Minnesota there was partial fusion, and in Oregon one of the People's party electors was accepted by the Democrats. In Louisiana there was a fusion of the Republicans and the People's party.[598]

Of the 1,041,577 votes cast for Weaver, the geographical distribution by sections was as follows:[599] New England States, 6,627; Middle States, 31,089; western and northwestern States, 471,660; southern and southwestern States, 374,558; and the Pacific States, 157,643.

Comparing the popular vote for the presidential candidates of the third parties from 1876 to 1892 we have the following result expressed in percentages:[600]

Year	1876	1880	1884	1888	1892
New England	0.35	1.39	4.26	1.98	0.76
Middle	0.49	1.79	1.45	0.14	1.01

Southern & Southwestern	0.17	3.02	0.39	1.64	15.13
Western & Northwestern	2.04	5.10	2.23	2.07	9.45
Pacific	0.27	1.83	1.43	0.11	25.39
Average	0.97	3.34	1.74	1.26	8.79

The meaning of the election in 1892 was stated in a discriminating editorial in *The Review of Reviews* for December, 1892. "The Republican party was condemned because the voters believed that its policies had come to be too favorable towards the concentration of weath. It was felt to be growing plutocratic . . . . In the West, the Republicans were accounted more closely connected than the Democrats with corporate wealth in railroads, banks and capitalistic undertakings in general, and the Republican party suffered accordingly. . . . Mr. Reid, the vice-presidential candidate, was, moreover, accounted a representative of the plutocracy and a long-time enemy of organized labor. It is not for us to say that these views were just; but that they prevailed very extensively is true. And they carried the election. They underlay the People's party movement in the West and South, and they accelerated the Democratic movement in both East and West. There are plenty of millionaire Democrats, of course, and a long list of names enter the mind at once; but it remains true, nevertheless, that this campaign involved to some extent a movement of the poor against the rich, and that the Republican party was more generally thought to stand for the rich." [601]

The *New York Tribune* expressed the same conclusion in different terms. "The chief cause of Republican defeat and Democratic victory is the modern tendency toward socialism. . . . There is not the slightest desire to overturn the existing government and the rav-

ings of anarchists they repudiate altogether. But since 1873, ... political and social conditions in the United States have been thought of on the quiet, and there has been discontent among certain thousands. The Greenback party then had its origin. It is within the last decade, however, that social discontent has manifested itself more markedly in the formation of political parties, all of which, according to the leaders of them, were destined to glorious futures when the Democratic and Republican parties should be wiped out of existence. This unsettled state of affairs showed itself in the formation of the Greenback party, the Labor party, Socialist party, Farmers' Alliance and finally the People's party." [602]

General Weaver in a letter to Herman E. Taubeneck, chairman of the national committee of the People's party after the election, declared that "unaided by money our grand young party has made an enviable record and achieved surprising success at the polls. We are but little behind the Republican party in the number of states carried . . . . we will doubtless hold the balance of power in the Senate of the United States, have doubled the number of our adherents in the house of representatives, secured control of a number of state governments, hold the balance of power in a majority of the states in the Union, and have succeeded in arousing a spirit of political independence among the people of the Northwest which cannot be disregarded in the future." [603]

The activity of reform organizations continued after the successes of the election of 1892. "The Industrial Legion of the United States" was formed by prominent leaders of the People's party to carry out politically the measures contained in the Omaha platform, "together with free speech, a free ballot and a fair count." It was

modelled upon the Grand Army and was a secret organization. The founders were "prominent leaders of the seven great industrial organizations composing the People's party, together with the foremost People's party members." Among the charter members were H. E. Taubeneck of Illinois, Geo. F. Washburn of Massachusetts, Congressman Otis of Kansas, H. L. Loucks of South Dakota, Marion Butler of North Carolina, and Paul Vandervoort of Nebraska. The prediction was made by Taubeneck that it would be organized in every State within thirty days and within a year would have 1,500,000 members. The real occasion for its establishment was the belief that the People's party candidates in Georgia and Alabama had been counted out in the last elections. Organization was going on in the South and West. Kansas was the first State to be organized, J. F. Willits being western organizer. Fifty lodges were claimed in Texas by the end of December. The order seems to have been composed of the most radical elements, who were for a fair ballot or a revolution. It failed to develop into a body of lasting importance, however, and serves merely as a sign of the unrest and agitation of the period.[604]

Naturally such an organization as the American Bimetallic League increased its activity as a result of the successes of the year 1892. The close connection between the League and the People's party may be inferred from the fact that many of the leaders were identical. The first national convention of the League had been held at St. Louis in the fall of 1889.[605] During 1893 meetings were held at Washington in February, at Chicago in August, and at St. Louis in October. Among those in attendance at these meetings were Congressman William J. Bryan, Governors Davis H. Waite of Colorado and

Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina, Senator William M. Stewart and Congressman Francis G. Newlands of Nevada, Robert Schilling, Terence V. Powderly, and Ignatius Donnelly. General Adoniram J. Warner, president of the League, had been the spokesman of the People's party in its efforts to get the consent of Judge Gresham to be its candidate for President in 1892.[606] The session at Chicago reported forty-two States and Territories represented and eight hundred and ten delegates in attendance. At the Washington meeting an invitation was extended to every labor and industrial organization in the United States to send delegates to future meetings of the League. Thus, during these years efforts were aimed at the union of the masses of the people politically, industrially and along the lines of economic interest: the People's party, the Bimetallic League and the Industrial Federation focussed these undertakings.[607]

The senatorial contests of 1893 contributed one strong and able member of the People's party to the upper house of Congress. The Nebraska legislature, as a result of the election of 1892, was almost evenly divided between the Republicans on one side and the Independents and Democrats on the other. Balloting began January 17th and lasted till February 7th when Judge William V. Allen secured the entire Democratic and Independent support and was elected by a vote of seventy to fifty-nine.[608]

Senator Allen was born in Ohio in 1847, moved to Iowa in 1856, and enlisted in an Iowa regiment at the age of fifteen. After the war he studied law in the office of L. L. Ainsworth[609] of West Union, Iowa, and in 1884 removed to Madison, Nebraska. He had been a Republican before 1890, and from 1891 to 1893 he was a district judge. He was described as "a giant in stature, and it is

said his mental calibre is consistent with his physical make up."[610] The editor of *The Review of Reviews* in July, 1894, advised "the people of Nebraska, regardless of party affiliations, not to apologize to anybody for Senator William V. Allen. If Populism can produce men of Senator Allen's mould, and lift them into positions of the highest responsibility, one might be tempted to suggest that an epidemic of this Western malady would prove beneficial to some Eastern communities and have salutary results for the nation at large."[611]

Another competent observer, writing in *The Forum* in October, 1893, in an article entitled the *Rise and Doom of the Populist Party*, said that "in spite of all the great pressure of the corporations, the Populists, by the aid of the Democrats, elected to the Senate an honest man, William Vincent Allen, against the chosen friend of the monopolists, the Republican candidate,[612] the general solicitor of the Union Pacific railway. That election cost Mr. Allen just $74.25. This was probably the smallest sum by which a seat in the present United States Senate was secured. Mr. Allen is a Populist, with a head filled with wrong financial notions; but he is a conservative, pure, incorruptible man, who won renown as an eminent attorney and a just, upright judge, whose acts of kindness and charity are legion."[613]

In Kansas the contest between the Republicans and the Populists for the control of the House of Representatives resulted in the organization of rival houses which contended for the use of the quarters occupied by that body in the State capitol. The Governor, L. D. Lewelling,[614] ordered out the State militia, but as the officers were Republicans many refused to act. Republicans came to Topeka in large numbers, and there was grave danger of

an armed conflict. Cooler counsels prevailed, however, and the matter was brought before the courts, which decided in favor of the Republicans. The contest lasted from early in January to the end of February. As the Populists controlled the Senate without question and had fifty-eight members in the House, compared with sixty-three Republican members, they had a majority upon joint ballot. The peculiar legislative situation resulted in the election of a free silver Democrat, John Martin, as United States Senator. Many Populists strongly opposed his election, but General Weaver expressed the opinion "that the very best possible result was accomplished . . . . Judge Martin is a man of splendid character and first-class ability. He has for years been openly in accord with the doctrines of the People's party and hence incurred the bitter opposition of the machine Democrats in his own state . . . . opposed to the National banks and in favor of an increase of the circulating medium until the volume is sufficient to place the business of the country on a cash basis." [615]

The Fifty-second Congress meeting in December, 1891, contained two Populist Senators and eight members of the House of Representatives from the same party. Kansas and South Dakota sent the Senators; while the Congressmen came from Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota.[616] The Fifty-third Congress assembled in extra session in August, 1893, with three Populist Senators and eight members of the House. The new Senator was from Nebraska and the members of the House from Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Nevada.[617]

Although the Senate is the less democratic of the two houses, both in its manner of election and in its composition, the various independent political movements since

the seventies have had a more conspicuous representation in it than in the House. Such representation has been made more prominent by reason of the size of the Senate and the longer term of its members. The Anti-Monopoly movement of 1873-1875 had two representatives in the Senate; and the Greenback party by the election of Judge David Davis to the Senate in 1877 exercised a profound influence upon the settlement of the disputed presidential election of 1876. The small group of Populist Senators from 1892 to 1896 held the balance of power in that body, because of the fact that the Republicans and Democrats had nearly the same number of members. The free silver issue breaking through party lines also aided the same group. More recently the Progressives have had a similar influence due to the presence in the Senate of a small group of influential leaders.

The year 1893 was an "off year" politically, with elections in very few of the States in which Populism was strong. So far as can be noted the significant feature of the State elections was a reaction from the Democrats to the Republicans, due almost certainly to the policy of the administration in forcing the repeal of the silver purchase section of the Sherman Act of 1890. In Ohio and Massachusetts the tariff was the chief issue, while in Iowa prohibition was abandoned by the Republicans. Two of these States were recovered by the Republicans from Democratic Governors. These successes were of a superficial character and did not indicate the real political situation. The defeat of the Democrats merely showed disappointment at their use of the power given to them in 1892. This action, added to the defeat of the Republicans in 1890 and 1892, suggested widespread dissatisfaction with both old parties. Such a condition of

affairs would in the long run strengthen the People's party, unless one of the old parties should adopt some of their issues to absorb their strength. This the Democrats did in 1896.[618]

The Populists kept up a continuous campaign throughout the year, as in fact they had been doing for a number of years. Their methods were unlike those of the older parties because they had not the machinery and finance to carry on their work. At the St. Louis conference in February, 1892, Secretary Schilling reported only fifty dollars in the treasury and that of the twelve hundred dollars subscribed at Cincinnati only one subscriber had paid.[619] The national committee, at the close of the Omaha convention of 1892, urged the reform press to use its influence to get every party club and labor organization to meet on July 24th for the purpose of collecting funds, and to adjourn to meet again on August 16th, the anniversary of the battle of Bennington, for the same purpose. Four funds were established to be known as the "ten dollar", "five dollar", "one dollar", and "fifty cent campaign" funds; and the proceeds were to be sent to the treasurer of the national committee. In addition, all speakers for the party were asked to take up collections at all party meetings, and ladies in sympathy with the party were urged to form clubs to raise funds and to assist in the work.[620] In South Dakota the county committees decided to hold meetings "for the purpose of filling up the ranks of the faithful." The meetings were to be "conducted on the same principle as oldtime religious revival meetings."[621]

The year 1894 was one of industrial and social unrest in the United States, due among other reasons to the prevailing business depression that followed the crisis of

the preceding year. Coxey or industrial armies traversed the country from the Pacific Coast to Washington during the months from March to June. They were "but the byplay of the social movement. They lie merely upon the surface of the situation, and indicate nothing in particular excepting a considerable amount of unrest and uneasiness in the world of labor . . . . The largest ingredient in the great mixture of impulses to which this fantastic industrial army movement is due is the American love of adventure, excitement and change." [622]

Much more serious were the labor conflicts of the year, culminating in the great railroad strike of July, 1894. Beginning in a dispute between the Pullman Company and its employees, it gradually extended to nearly all the railways west of Chicago. The center of the conflicts was Chicago, where the United States government found it necessary to interfere to protect mail trains. Against this interference Governor Altgeld protested vigorously, declaring it to be unnecessary and an autocratic assumption of power upon the part of President Cleveland. Altgeld and Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the strike, voiced the sentiment of many radicals; [623] while President Cleveland seemed to represent the money power. Thus a conflict between labor and capital came to be regarded as a part of the conspiracy of Wall Street to control the nation in its own selfish interests. Mistakes made by the federal courts in straining too far the use of their power of injunction and Mr. Pullman's unwillingness to waive his legal rights by consenting to arbitration gave considerable basis for the radical view of the situation. President Cleveland's firmness, however, brought to an end "the most pretentious industrial war that was ever declared in the United States". [624] His exercise of fed-

eral power was approved by the Supreme Court; while the Strike Commission, appointed by him, brought out clearly the mistakes made by the railroad managers.[625]

Almost inevitably the industrial unrest and conflict reacted upon the Populist party. Referring to its representatives in Congress the editor of *The Review of Reviews* declared that an impression prevailed in the East that the party was "fanatical in the extreme; that its doctrines are those of advanced socialism, and that its principal motive is the virtual repudiation of public and private indebtedness, the confiscation of the property of railway and other corporations, and the plunging of the country into a cheap-money debauch . . . . that the Populists who have come to the front as leaders in several Western and Southern States, and those who have been sent to Washington as Senators and Representatives, are either fanatics and cranks of limited intelligence and exceedingly pernicious ideas, or else are ambitious demagogues who are Populists at this particular moment for their own interest and advancement. . . . In a session when absenteeism has been most scandalous, and when the party in power, despite its overwhelming majority, has for weeks together found it well-nigh impossible to secure a quorum, the little band of Populists have been in their seats, ... If on the one hand they have shown no transcendent ability as statesmen, orators or parliamentarians, they have on the other hand maintained an exceedingly good average in these regards. Very few of them could by any possibility be regarded as belonging to the politician class. Speaking generally, they may be said to be fair representatives of the honest, well-intentioned citizenship of the States from which they come."[626]

The strongest positive force exercised by the Populist party was a "permeating" influence — an effect upon the policy of the two old parties resulting from the prestige that came to them because of their successes. The most striking instance of permeation was the adoption by the Democratic party of the income-tax idea and its inclusion in the Tariff Act of 1894. That party had come into power upon a platform that demanded a revenue tariff. Although nothing had happened to make necessary a change of policy, yet the income-tax was introduced and survived all the changes to which the new tariff was subjected. The income-tax was a Populist demand and "may justly be called a mighty manifestation of the working of the Populist leaven. So great a third-party triumph as the acceptance by the dominant party of this income-tax demand, is almost without a parallel." [627]

The primary issue of the Populists was free coinage of silver. "Nobody can deny the working of the Populist leaven as regards the Income Tax . . . . But . . . . the Populist leaven in the direction of free silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is working yet more deeply and ominously." [628] The truth of this assertion was borne out in 1896 when the Democracy adopted free coinage as its chief issue and selected its candidate because of his emphasis upon that demand. Conspicuous as were the electoral successes of the Populists, they were small when compared with the influence of the party upon contemporary legislation and upon contemporary party readjustments. The greatest of the earlier group of social parties was also the last for a long period of years, because it captured one of the great parties and has dominated it ever since.

The elections of 1894 resulted in the defeat of the Populists in most of the western States in which they had had great success in 1892. These defeats, as the figures show, were not caused by a falling off in strength: they were due to local influences and political complications. Although they lost the governorship in Kansas, their vote increased from 115,000 in 1892 to 118,329 in 1894. In Oregon, although the erratic Pennoyer was defeated, the Populist vote increased from 15,000 to 25,461. The election of a Populist governor in Nebraska, on the other hand, was hardly due to an increase of Populist strength, but was chiefly the result of a bad nomination on the part of the Republicans. The great gains made were in the South. South Carolina elected as Governor a Tillman Democrat, while Tillman himself was sent to the United States Senate. The Tillman Democracy received nearly 40,000 votes out of a total of less than 70,000. They adopted the Ocala platform of the Farmers' Alliance, asserting that its demands were not inconsistent with those of the Chicago platform of the national Democracy. A fusion of Republicans and Populists in North Carolina resulted in the election of an anti-Democratic legislature and the sending to Washington of one Republican and one Populist Senator, — two Populists with Republican affiliations. In Texas, too, a Republican-Populist fusion succeeded in electing two Congressmen. In Alabama a similar fusion resulted in the election of a Republican Congressman.

The Populist vote in Minnesota showed a remarkable increase from 29,313 in 1892 to 87,931 in 1894. In California the Populists also developed extraordinary strength. Their vote ran from 45,749 for their weakest candidate to 68,000 for their strongest candidate. For

attorney-general the Populist vote was only a little over 14,000 behind the Democratic vote. The campaign was characterized by extreme hostility to the Southern Pacific Railway monopoly, and the Democratic programme was avowedly for government control of the Central and Union Pacific Railroads. The Democratic candidate for Governor, Mr. Budd, offered as a practical policy the taking of these roads by the federal government and their management as government highways, over which, under proper regulations, any railroad might run its cars. This policy was peculiarly his own, for he originated it ten years before while a member of Congress. He stumped the State upon this issue, the first instance of a campaign conducted by one of the leading parties in this country in favor of government control of railroads. It was chiefly due to the popularity of such a policy that a Democratic Governor was elected in California in the face of general Democratic defeat.[629]

The elections of 1894 represented the high-water mark in the electoral strength of the Populists. Compared with the vote in the presidential election of 1892 there was a gain of forty-two percent. Whereas in 1892 the total vote was 1,041,028, in 1894 it was 1,471,590. In 1892 the Populists elected five United States Senators, ten Congressmen, twenty-two Electors, fifty State officials, and fifteen hundred county officials and members of State legislatures, while in 1894 they elected six United States Senators, seven Congressmen, twenty-one State officials, one hundred and fifty State senators and three hundred and fifteen State representatives.[630]

XVIII

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896: UNION OF POPULISTS AND DEMOCRATS

The year 1895 was characterized by preparation for the presidential contest of 1896. On the surface the one great issue was the free coinage of silver. The Republicans seemed likely to declare for the gold standard, and if they did they would face the danger of a bolt of the silver States. If the Democrats should adopt free coinage, they in their turn would risk a loss of the gold States. In any event the old parties were threatened with serious losses. Party lines and real issues no longer corresponded. Careful observers estimated that two-fifths of the Republicans and three-fifths of the Democrats favored a silver standard. The southern and far western States were "almost unanimous for free coinage"; the central States leaned "toward silver with bimetallic qualifications"; and "only in New York, New England and adjacent eastern states" were there "any avowedly gold standard men." [631]

While free coinage threatened to break up the old parties, leaders of the People's party were active in their efforts to fuse all the silver forces into a compact party. They felt sure that if all these elements could be united they would sweep the country; and there is little doubt of the correctness of their conclusion. There were strong reasons for the belief that in 1894 and 1895 all that prevented the passage of a free coinage bill by Congress was

the certainty of a presidential veto. General Weaver was understood to be "the principal mover in this effort to secure the union of the silver forces . . . . and it is stated that he has the co-operation of Gen. A. J. Warner and the sympathy of Representative Bland." [632]

The concerted action of these three men promised to bring together the People's party, the Bimetallic League, and the free silver wing of the Democratic party — a result that was accomplished in 1896. An address was issued by the "bimetallic party" in March and a vigorous campaign begun. Ex-Congressman Joseph S. Sibley of Pennsylvania was mentioned as a candidate for the Presidency.[633]

Not only were efforts made to unite existing organizations, but as in every period of social unrest new undertakings were attempted to deal with real and imaginary difficulties. Late in March, 1895, announcement was made of plans for a great labor organization "to foster colonization on a voluntary coöperative basis, providing profitable employment for the unemployed and fostering independent political action among wage workers." The new organization aimed at the elimination of strikes and the substitution of arbitration. "By taking up the surplus labor of the great cities and starting it into productive employment" it would "benefit not only the unemployed but those already engaged in every line of productive activity . . . . the movement had practically been started in nearly every city of any importance in the United States. As soon as a little more headway is made a convention will be called and a plan of organization adopted." [634]

Lyman Trumbull, former United States Senator from Illinois and a leader among the Liberal Republicans,

was asked to become the head of the new labor organization. Probably this selection was due to the fact that Trumbull had been one of the counsel for Mr. Debs, and with Henry D. Lloyd had addressed a large meeting held at Chicago in October, 1894, under the auspices of the People's party, his subject being "The Rights of Man as Affected by Accumulated Wealth and Favored Monopolies." His speech was published in the newspapers and in pamphlet form was used as a Populist campaign document.[635]

Important State elections were held in 1895 in only seven States. The Republicans were successful in all but one State, Mississippi. No elections of importance occurred in Kansas and Nebraska, and none at all in the other free silver States. The Republican victory was "not so overwhelming in its majorities as that of last year. . . . There is nothing in the situation to justify confident predictions on the one side or on the other. Everything shows that the independent voter is holding a wider and wider margin of disputed territory, and that he can with increasing facility turn the balance of power." [636]

How little competent political observers understood the nature of the movement and how little they anticipated the events of the year 1896 is shown by an article in *The Century* for November, 1895, written by Mr. Roosevelt, in which he described the Populists as representing "very little except an angry but loose discontent with affairs as they actually are, and a readiness to grasp after any remedy proposed either by charlatanism or by an ignorance as honest as it is abysmal. The Populist party, therefore, waxes and wanes inversely as prosperity increases or declines. . . . At present, affairs over the

country seem to be on the mend, and the Populist party is therefore losing power." [637]

The great event of 1896 politically was the adoption of free silver as an issue by the Democrats and their nomination of Mr. Bryan as their candidate. These events were the culmination of the developments that have just been traced, especially since 1890. To the country at large they came as startling surprises; but as a matter of fact they had been prepared for gradually; and favored by a combination of circumstances, they produced the unexpected climax. Thus the Populists won their greatest victory, while at the same time they lost their identity as a political party. Their work of "permeation" eclipsed all the records of previous independent movements by giving to one of the great parties its chief issue and its presidential candidate. No greater success could be attained. "A landmark in party history" [638] had been established. The final steps in the process and what resulted therefrom remain to be described.

"Democratic State conventions in several of the Mississippi valley States had declared for free coinage of silver in 1895; but until the spring of 1896 it was not supposed that that sentiment would control the Democratic organization or the framing of the declaration of principles at its national convention. A free-silver organization had, however, been formed within the Democratic party late in 1895, and through its work and that of an organization calling itself the Silver party a sentiment rapidly developed throughout the South and the West in behalf of silver, and before the election of delegates to the Democratic National Convention had been completed it was apparent that the silver sentiment would control that convention." [639]

McKinley's nomination was "practically assured" [640] before the meeting of the Republican convention through the efficient work of Mark Hanna, the manager of the campaign for his nomination and his personal friend for many years. McKinley and his supporters had expected that the tariff would be made the leading issue in 1896, but the impending declaration of the Democrats for free silver compelled a change of plans. Like a good many western Republicans, McKinley's record upon currency matters had been one of expediency. A definite and unequivocal declaration for the gold standard would hardly be consistent with his previous course, and would almost certainly lead to the bolt of a good many far western Republicans. Still these were minor difficulties, and the Republican leaders, urged on by eastern business interests, finally decided to declare definitely for the maintenance of the gold standard.[641] This decision was followed by the withdrawal from the convention of delegates from Montana, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and South Dakota — headed by Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado, "whose farewell speech to the convention of the party with which he had acted since its organization made an intensely dramatic scene". The practical effect of this secession was slight, however, for only twenty-one delegates withdrew and less than one-tenth of the total number voted against the gold plank when the platform was adopted.[642]

With the Republicans the candidate had been determined upon before the convention met, but with the Democrats the reverse was true — the platform in its dominant issue was settled in advance, while the candidate remained to be chosen. The Republicans adapted their candidates to the requirements of the platform; the Dem-

ocrats chose the candidate who seemed best fitted to represent the platform.

The minority in the Democratic convention recognized that those in favor of free coinage were "largely in the ascendency", but they hoped through the two-thirds rule to "prevent the nomination of an extreme advocate of free coinage. Strong speeches were made in the convention against the adoption of the free-coinage plank, but without avail, the majority in its favor being overwhelming." [643] The leaders of the silver forces were Senator James K. Jones of Arkansas, Governor Altgeld of Illinois, and Senator Tillman of South Carolina. They proceeded from the opening of the convention "rapidly and relentlessly to carry their programme through to the end." By a vote of five hundred and fifty-six to three hundred and forty-nine they elected their candidate for temporary chairman in place of the nominee of the national committee which was in the hands of the gold men. Next they carried a free silver platform by a vote of six hundred and twenty-eight to three hundred and one after having rejected substitutes proposed by their opponents.[644]

The closing speech in the debate upon the platform was made by William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska who "had come to the convention at the head of the contesting silver delegation from his State. . . . Mr. Bryan's speech is said, by very experienced and competent men who heard it, to have been undoubtedly the most electrifying oratorical effort in all the annals of American political history. . . . His great effort at Chicago in answer to Senator Hill, though adapted extemporaneously to meet the precise situation at every point, was full of

carefully phrased periods and of carefully studied arguments which had done service more than once in the speeches which Mr. Bryan had been delivering elsewhere. Very few persons were aware, at that time, how constantly and how extensively in various portions of the West and South Mr. Bryan had for two or three years been making effective addresses in behalf of free silver . . . . the immense effect produced by his speech at Chicago was due to the coincidence that a consummate oratorical occasion had found a man consummately prepared to take advantage of it. . . . Mr. Bryan could have been nominated by acclamation at the conclusion of his speech . . . . if he had been willing to allow the regular order of proceedings to be overruled." [645]

Before the delivery of Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, Horace Boies of Iowa, and Henry M. Teller of Colorado were regarded as the leading candidates for the presidential nomination. Bland had been for many years the congressional leader of the free silver advocates; Boies had been twice elected as Governor in the otherwise always Republican State of Iowa; Teller's dramatic retirement from the Republican convention had seemed to the leaders of the Democrats to make him the natural candidate. It was understood to be the intention of Governor Altgeld, "the Hanna of the democratic convention",[646] to bring about the nomination of Teller after several preliminary ballots had been taken. Governor Altgeld himself was not eligible because of his German birth.

The platform was objectionable to the eastern delegates, not only because of the silver plank, its most striking feature, but because of other declarations which it contained, such as its denunciation of President Cleve-

land's "policy of issuing bonds to maintain the gold reserve in the Treasury, the use of Federal troops and injunctions by Federal courts to suppress riots and interference with interstate traffic, and an attack on the Supreme Court because of its reversal of the action of Congress in favor of a tax on incomes." When to all these objections was added the prospect of the nomination of an extreme advocate of all of them, many eastern delegates, "as well as a small portion of those from the Mississippi valley", declined to take part in the balloting.[647]

Bryan was nominated upon the fifth ballot, receiving more than the five hundred and twelve necessary votes. His chief competitors were Bland and Boies, who received two hundred and thirty-five and eighty-five votes, respectively, upon the first ballot. Bland's support increased to two hundred and ninety-one votes on the third ballot; while for Boies the number of votes cast declined to twenty-six on the final ballot. Five ballots were also required for a nomination for the Vice Presidency. The leading aspirants were ex-Congressman Sibley of Pennsylvania, Arthur Sewall of Maine, and John R. McLean of Ohio. Sibley's vote fell off rapidly and the real contest was between Sewall and McLean. The fourth ballot showed McLean in the lead with two hundred and ninety-six, compared with two hundred and sixty-two for Sewall. During the progress of the fifth ballot the convention turned to Sewall and his nomination was made unanimous.

Mr. Bryan was thirty-six years old at the time of his nomination and was the youngest candidate ever selected for the Presidency by any great American party. Some eastern newspapers and prominent persons pretended

never to have heard of him before his Chicago speech. Their failure to have heard of him, if they were honest in their expressions, was due to a failure to keep posted on events in the West during the preceding eight years; for during that time Mr. Bryan had served two terms as a member of Congress and was "by all odds the ablest and strongest orator on the Democratic side of the House. His subsequent canvass for the United States Senatorship in Nebraska was noteworthy and conspicuous on many accounts. He had been often mentioned as a presidential possibility among the Democrats of the West, but his youth had been considered a conclusive argument against his availability." [648]

Mr. Sewall, the candidate for Vice President, was an eastern bank president and had been known as a free silver man only since June, 1895. He was the head of a well known firm of ship-builders at Bath, Maine, and was a director in various railroad and other corporations. He was "a man of force and character, in his sixty-first year." His nomination was "a surprise to almost every one" and was due to the belief of the leaders that it was "expedient to choose an Eastern man rather than one from the West or South." [649] It is noteworthy that both the chief candidates for the Vice Presidency were men of wealth — their wealth being regarded as of importance in the conduct of the campaign. The basis for his selection did not recommend him to the rank and file of the free silver Democracy. The Populists rejected him altogether.[650]

The Populists assembled late in July in the same building in which the Republicans had met the month before. The chief problem before this convention was the endorsement of the results of the work of the Democrats.

There was no objection to the nomination of Mr. Bryan as a candidate, but there was a question as to the probable effect of such an action upon the future of the Populist party. The foremost advocates of the endorsement of Mr. Bryan were Senator Allen of Nebraska and General Weaver of Iowa. The opponents of the plan were chiefly southern Populists who came from States where there were very few Republicans and where there was intense hostility between Democracy and Populism. Some northern Populists like Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota, General Jacob S. Coxey of Ohio, Col. S. F. Norton of Illinois, and Senator Peffer of Kansas favored a separate ticket.[651]

The fusionists proved strong enough at the beginning of the convention to make Senator Allen permanent chairman and General Weaver chairman of the committee on resolutions. Allen's choice was by a vote of seven hundred and fifty-eight to five hundred and sixty-four for James A. Campion of Maine, the candidate of the minority. The opposition also submitted a substitute platform in which both the Democratic and Republican parties were denounced "for their mutual coöperation with the money-power", but it was defeated by a large majority. Mr. Bryan in addition urged the withdrawal of his own name unless Mr. Sewall was endorsed. Slow progress was made, and it became evident that Mr. Sewall, "as president of a bank, director in railway companies and other corporations, and a wealthy employer of labor", would not be acceptable to the Populist party. Finally "the separate ticket men" obtained the consent of the convention by a vote of seven hundred and eighty-five to six hundred and fifteen to select the vice presidential candidate first. The balloting resulted

in the choice of Thomas E. Watson of Georgia by a vote of four hundred and sixty-nine to two hundred and fifty-seven. The following day Bryan was nominated by a vote of one thousand and forty-two out of the thirteen hundred delegates. S. F. Norton was the only other person nominated who received substantial support.[652] His vote probably represented the strength of those who favored a separate ticket.[653]

Ex-Congressman Watson was "a man of intense convictions, fanatical fervor and undoubted integrity and sincerity . . . . a country editor . . . . a powerful personality in the politics of his own state. He is still a young man, being thirty-eight or thirty-nine years of age." His nomination represented the element in the party which came to be known as "Middle-of-the-Road" Populists whose chief anxiety was to preserve party identity and not to be drawn aside by any temporary advantage to be derived from fusion with the great parties.[654] This section was the only portion of the party that maintained an independent existence after 1896.[655]

With the Democrats and Republicans the platform had been the chief problem, but with the Populists under the circumstances the platform was of secondary importance. "The great and pressing issue" was the financial question and this issue had been taken over by the Democrats. Hence the platform played a much less prominent part in the proceedings of the Populist convention of 1896 than it had in 1892. The real problem was the endorsement of the Democratic candidates upon a platform largely adopted from the program of the Populists. A few items appeared in the Populist platform that were not to be found in the Democratic, but these were recognized to be issues of future rather than immediate importance,

as was the free coinage plank. The government control of railroads and telegraphs, the initiative and referendum and the election of President, Vice President, and United States Senators by direct vote of the people comprised the more important of these future issues.[656]

According to a sympathetic observer, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd, the Populist convention of 1896 "lacked the drill and distinction and wealth" of the Republican gathering and it did not have "the ebullient aggressiveness of the revolutionary Democratic assembly at Chicago, nor the brilliant drivers who rode the storm there. Every one commented on the number of gray heads — heads many of them grown white in previous independent party movements. The delegates were poor men. . . . Cases are well known of delegates who walked because too poor to pay their railroad fare. It was one day discovered that certain members of one of the most important delegations were actually suffering for food. . . . The unexpected length of the proceedings had exhausted their little store of money." [657]

"Within ten days after the adoption of the platform at Chicago, more than 100 daily papers that had been accustomed to support the nominees of the Democratic party announced their opposition to the ticket and the platform. This was especially the case in the large cities east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio. . . . Meantime, great dissatisfaction with the platform . . . . was developing among eminent Democrats in all the States between the Mississippi and the Atlantic and north of the extreme Southern States. . . . The friends and supporters of President Cleveland were indignant at the attack made in the convention upon his administration." The result was a gathering at In-

dianapolis early in September at which eight hundred and eighty-eight delegates were present from over forty States and at which a platform was adopted denouncing the action of the Chicago convention relative to currency and federal interference in governmental matters. The name of "the National Democratic party" was adopted, and General John M. Palmer of Illinois and General Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky put forward as candidates for President and Vice President. The convention "contained a remarkable number of men of high culture and attainments who are versed in politics and affairs, whose motives are above suspicion, and whose political action is free from any taint of self-seeking." [658] Nevertheless, this party proved of little importance in the election; the main contest was waged between the hosts led by McKinley and Bryan.[659]

The campaign of 1896 [660] was of necessity one of education, with the great battleground in the agricultural States of the Mississippi Valley. The northeastern and Middle States were committed to the gold standard; while it was just as certain that the South and the mining States would support free coinage. A campaign of education had been carried on in the South and West for nearly three years by the Bimetallic League and other pro-silver organizations, and any hope of success there for the Republicans meant that in a three months' canvass they must counteract the efforts of nearly as many years — a stupendous task only to be successfully accomplished by the most thorough and efficient work. Consequently, a remarkable feature of this campaign of education was the enormous distribution of literature, amounting to thousands of tons sent out by the different parties.[661]

The character of the free silver propaganda that had to be met during the canvass of 1896 is well illustrated by the sale of a little book entitled *Coin's Financial School.* Its author, W. H. Harvey, was born in Virginia about 1854. He studied law and practiced in Cleveland, Ohio. In 1878 he went West where he tried ranching and silver-prospecting, and made money, but lost it all in 1893. He then settled in Chicago and started a weekly paper which failed. Finally, he wrote his book in 1894 and by May, 1895, 300,000 copies had been sold. Harvey's book did not create the silver movement, but the strength of the silver movement created the market for that kind of literature. The book is cleverly written with suggestive diagrams intended to appeal to the average mind. A combination of circumstances, plus a book, resulted in the free silver campaign of 1896. "Coin's Financial School" furnished the argument; free silver sufficed for the creed, and "Sixteen to One" became the cry.[662]

A spectacular feature of the campaign was the "oratorical canvass for the presidency" made by Mr. Bryan which was undoubtedly "the most remarkable tour in all the annals of political 'stumping'." The official notification of the nomination was made in Madison Square Garden, New York, early in August. Speeches were made by the candidate from the rear platform of his car on his way from Nebraska to New York and afterwards he made a tour through "the enemy's country", the northeastern and Middle States. "His tour attracted much attention, phenomenal crowds gathered to listen to him. . . . It was found also that speeches delivered in this unusual manner attracted the attention of the press and the public, and were printed even in the most

hostile papers as a matter of news. This suggested to him and his managers the practicability, by continuing this process, of utilizing the press of the country to spread their arguments despite its hostility to their views. Accordingly, Mr. Bryan remained in the field during the entire canvass . . . . traveling first in an ordinary passenger coach, then in the Pullman parlor car or sleeper, then by special car, and finally by special train, accompanied by a corps of secretaries and correspondents of newspapers and press associations.'' [663]

During fourteen weeks Mr. Bryan made four hundred speeches in twenty-nine States and traveled 18,000 miles. His average number of speeches was about five a day. All together he probably addressed several million voters. His itinerary took him as far East as Bath, Maine, as far South as Memphis, Tennessee, and West as far as Kearney, Nebraska, and Aberdeen, South Dakota. Merely as a test of physical endurance his undertaking would be hard to match, and in addition ''it must be remembered that he has had to discuss before vast audiences, — in such a way as to hold their attention and win their applause, — a class of subjects which lend themselves with the greatest difficulty to popular oratory.'' [664]

Mr. McKinley, though remaining at his home in Canton, Ohio, carried on ''an oratorical campaign . . . . which in its own kind has . . . . never been paralleled.'' Almost every day he was visited by delegations that expected an address upon the issues of the day. In the busiest part of the canvass it was estimated that as many as 30,000 persons visited him in a single day. From June 19th to November 2nd he made three hundred speeches to more than 750,000 persons from about thirty States. The plan of delegations representing ''a locality

or else belonging to some one craft or calling or interest'' gave classified audiences to Mr. McKinley for which he could prepare in advance, while Mr. Bryan's ''whirlwind campaign'' from the rear platform did not permit such concentrated efforts. ''His speeches, like those of Mr. Bryan, were telegraphed to all parts of the country . . . . so that each of the candidates was able thus to address the entire reading population of the country more frequently, and to discuss the issues more thoroughly, than had been the case in any presidential campaign of former years.'' [665]

The cost of the campaign was of especial interest because of the charges of coercion upon the part of employers and because of the large amount of money supposed to be at the command of the Republicans. There was a great deal of discussion, but ''comparatively little'' was known, for no formal accounting for funds was even thought of at the time. The fears of business men as to the effects of free coinage upon property interests caused them to contribute more freely than usual to the Republican campaign expenses: directors of banks and life insurance companies made contributions in the belief that they were protecting the property of their stockholders from almost certain depreciation and loss. On the other hand silver-mine owners contributed to the campaign funds of the Democrats. The canvass of 1896 was an exceptionally expensive one on account of the enormous distribution of literature by the Republicans and the widespread ''stumping'' activities of Mr. Bryan. The legitimate expenses would be very great even with the most careful management.[666]

The dominant figure in the management of the campaign was Marcus A. Hanna,[667] chairman of the National

Republican Committee, and the close personal friend of Mr. McKinley. He was primarily the big business man in politics and in the popular mind he personified the money-power of the country. In deference to this popular belief the cartoonist always pictured him as dressed in clothes completely covered with dollar marks. Under such circumstances it was only natural that the opinion should become prevalent that the Republican campaign was one of money waged against the interests of the common people of the country — the embodiment in concrete form of the idea that had been so carefully propagated by the advocates of free coinage. Mr. Bryan himself made charges that money was used to determine the results, and that if the Republicans had not influenced the electorate unfairly, his election would have been certain. Mr. Herbert Croly in his biography of Hanna considers these charges carefully and reaches the conclusion that he was "not to be held responsible for its blameworthy aspects. All he did was to make it more effective by virtue of his able expenditure of the money, of his systematization of the collections, and by the confidence he inspired that the money would be well spent. The real responsibility is much more widely distributed. The system was the inevitable result of the political organization and ideas of the American democracy and the relation which had come to prevail between the American political and economic life. As soon as it began to work in favor of only one of the two political parties it was bound to be condemned by public opinion".[668]

The actual cost of the campaign has been "grossly exaggerated". Estimates as high as $12,000,000 have been made and a favorite estimate has been $6,000,000 or

$7,000,000, but such figures are "almost twice as large as the money actually raised. The audited accounts of the Committee exhibited collections of a little less than $3,500,000, and some of this was not spent." [669]

Careful observers of the progress of the campaign have expressed the opinion that if the election had been held in August Bryan's election would have been almost certain. Even the Republican National Committee itself had no confidence in the success of its efforts until early in October. "Mr. McKinley was gravely concerned, and chided certain of his friends for their participation in the decisive definition of the currency issue." [670] The East failed to appreciate the intensity and sincerity of the western free coinage propaganda, with the result that there was grave danger that their efforts would be misplaced. Only the "vigorous, exhaustive and systematic work" [671] under Mr. Hanna's management made possible the final outcome.[672]

The election was held November 3rd and "good weather in nearly all parts of the United States made it possible to bring out an unusually full vote. This was especially so in the agricultural States, on whose vote the result was expected to depend. . . . Elaborate preparations had been made for gathering the returns from the polls and announcing the result. . . . The consequence was that before midnight a large portion of the 70,000,000 people of the United States were cognizant of the fact that McKinley and Hobart had been elected." [673] The popular vote stood as follows: McKinley, 7,107,304; Bryan (Democrat), 6,287,352; Bryan (Populist), 245,728; Palmer, 133,542; Prohibition, 144,708; Socialist, 33,545; total vote, 13,952,179.

The electoral vote was recorded as follows: For

President, McKinley, 271, Bryan, 176; for Vice President, Hobart, 271, Sewall, 149, Watson, 27.

Bryan lost by a popular vote of only about 500,000 in a total of nearly 14,000,000 votes. The electoral vote was less evenly divided. He carried all the States south of Virginia and Tennessee, including those States, and all west of the Mississippi except Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, and California. This sectional division of the vote is noteworthy and indicates why a new sectionalism [674] was talked about in those years. Watson's twenty-seven electoral votes came from the following States: Arkansas, 3; Louisiana, 4; Missouri, 4; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 4; North Carolina, 5; South Dakota, 2; Utah, 1; Washington, 2; and Wyoming, 1.

The popular vote cast for Watson was in round numbers 217,000 and was distributed through seventeen States. In twenty-eight States a Democratic-Populist fusion was arranged for the electoral vote. The merger of the two parties makes any comparison with the vote of 1892 impossible, but it may be noted that the Democrats carried South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and Missouri "in all of which the Populist party had cast heavy votes in the preceding presidential and congressional elections".[675]

The presidential election so greatly overshadowed the State elections that little attention was paid to the results. In some of the close States there was a divergence between the national and local outcome. The House of Representatives would be "strongly Republican", while the prospects were good for a sound money majority in the Senate.[676]

The significance of the campaign and election of 1896

in the history of social politics in the United States is independent of the economic soundness of its chief issue as a remedy to meet existing evils. As has already been suggested, it marked a new epoch in our political life in which the lines began to be drawn between the rich and poor — democracy and the power of wealth engaged in open conflict. It represented the culmination of agitations that had their beginnings back in the early seventies and which were aimed at the eradication of special privileges the effects of which had been steadily growing worse and worse for a quarter of a century. A part of the unrest was a blind protest against conditions regardless of consequences, but some persons of social vision believed that behind the superficial aspects they saw "the first great protest of the American people against monopoly — the first great struggle of the masses in our country against the privileged classes. It was not free silver that frightened the plutocratic leaders. What they feared then, what they fear now, is free men." Tom Johnson of Cleveland never accepted free silver as sound, but supported Bryan in 1896 and in 1900.[677]

Henry George supported Bryan in 1896, although "he regarded the silver coinage proposal as another form of the protective idea — to raise, artificially, the price of the silver commodity." He preferred it "to the principle of privilege which the monopolistic powers gathered around the gold, or so-called 'sound money' candidate". At first doubtful of Bryan's success, he became later certain of his election and was bitterly disappointed at his defeat.[678]

Henry D. Lloyd wrote to a correspondent in 1896 that "this Free Silver movement has convinced me that the people do not begin to understand the money question.

The Greenback movement, though nearer mere monetary truth than the Silver one, failed and I think deservedly for this reason. It did not see that as money is only an intermediary, the money question is only an intermediary one. We shall have a true money only when we have one produced in connection with a positive and creative programme of social reconstruction. . . . The failure of all our past agitations on tariff, land, transportation, trusts, labour, and capital indicates strongly that the body of reform thought has not yet been completed. . . . The revolution now in progress is not a little one. . . . It will move slowly until the leaders of the party are in possession of a definite and symmetrical body of truths, in which they can drill their followers so that these will have a common standard by which they can act together without leaders." [679] He wrote in October, 1896: "I may vote for Bryan as the Knight of the Disinherited, like Ivanhoe, but he will not be the next President, and I am content." He finally voted the Socialist Labor ticket.[680]

Professor Frank Parsons described free silver as "only one step, — the financial goal must be to place the movement of the currency volume under intelligent control, acting in the broad daylight in the interests of the whole nation. . . . Then monopoly and special privilege of every kind must be redeemed to the public use. Government must be purified and improved and labor out of place must be helped to readjustment and rendered secure in the opportunity to make an honest living. . . .

"I stand at the junction of three great roads" wrote Professor Parsons, "one leads to the right up a smiling slope to the public ownership of monopolies, security of employment, elevation of labor, a national currency and

postal savings banks, progressive taxation of incomes and inheritances, direct legislation, etc., etc.; on the left, is the road of gold, that is full of puddles and mud and rocks, and leads forever down, over gulch and precipice, to a vaster congestion of wealth, a strengthened money power, a more corrupted government, and a nation in slavery to privilege; the middle road is the silver road, and it looks as though it had a gully at the start, and some rocks and puddles beyond, but it has an upward slope upon the whole and turns after a while and runs into the road on the right." [681]

XIX

CONDITIONS IN IOWA IN 1890 AND 1891

Iowa was not one of the States in which Populism was most pronounced, since conditions here were less favorable to its development than in the three States to the west — Kansas, Nebraska, and South Dakota. As in earlier movements of a similar character the center of greatest unrest was in the section more recently settled, where the need and opportunity for capital for development was most keenly felt. These regions had succeeded themselves across the continent from western Massachusetts with its Shay's Rebellion in 1786 until the latest and greatest of these outbursts centered in the second tier of States west of the Mississippi from 1890 to 1896.

Iowa, however, was by no means untouched, although the record of its share must be studied in the effect upon the old parties rather than in the number of votes cast or the proportion of candidates elected. A study of these influences, as indicated in the press and other records of the period, will show how strong was the undercurrent, although it never broke through the banks of party organization with the violence which characterized its history in Kansas and Nebraska.

A casual view of the situation leaves the observer surprised that a State so little moved should have contributed the national leader in the one presidential contest in which the party acted independently. And yet General Weaver's candidacy was no accident, but resulted

from conditions of which he was a typical product. A Republican and a Union soldier he found himself in the middle seventies one of the minority in his party who were out of sympathy with some of its settled policies. This minority continued to grow and took various forms of independence from 1872 to 1890. After 1877 General Weaver was always with the protestants who step by step were trying to adjust party organization in the United States to new conditions and new problems. Social and economic issues were forcing themselves upon public attention in place of the political questions connected with slavery and reconstruction. General Weaver was one of the pioneers who recognized that the politics of the future were to be social in character.

From 1884 to 1891, influenced by conditions in the country at large, the Greenback party in Iowa merged first with the Union Labor party and finally was absorbed into the Populist party. Proof of the continuity of these movements under changing names is to be found in the reappearance of leaders like General Weaver, E. H. Gillette, L. H. Weller, W. H. Robb, and L. Q. Hoggatt in the conventions of the successive parties. A competent observer of the Omaha convention in 1892 described a delegate from Iowa as a "logical" Populist, who had been a Granger, then "successively a Greenbacker, a Prohibitionist and a Populist. He is a man in more than comfortable circumstances, intelligent, honest and a Christian." [682]

During the years of Populist activity a vigorous campaign was in operation in Iowa over the question of prohibition. An amendment to the State Constitution adopted in 1882 by a vote of 155,436 to 125,677 was declared invalid the following year because of a technical

flaw in its adoption by the General Assembly. In 1884 two laws were enacted "which imposed prohibition as absolute as that contemplated by the Amendment." [683] In 1889 and 1891 the Republicans were defeated in the State elections for the only times since the Civil War. The most prominent issue during these campaigns, as it had been during the years immediately preceding, was that of prohibition. Democratic success was probably helped by dissatisfaction with other Republican policies, but prohibition was certainly more largely responsible than any other single cause. Such a situation makes it very difficult to interpret the influence of a party like the Populist which must be described in terms of its reactions upon other parties instead of positively in terms of votes cast and candidates elected.[684]

The attitude of the People's party was made clear in its first platform adopted in 1891 in which it censured "the leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties for the constant effort to re-open the temperance question in this State, to the exclusion of the grave economic questions which now confront the people." [685] Again in 1893 the new party charged that the Republicans and Democrats were "engaged in an attempt to outbid one another for the support of the saloon element in the state, and are seeking to drown by their cry for the saloon every other important consideration relating to the public welfare. We demand that the present law shall remain until such time as it can be replaced by what is known as State and National control with all profits eliminated — which we believe to be the true method of dealing with the question." [686] While there should have been coöperation between the forces working for moral and social reform, the two groups have usually failed to work

harmoniously. Each has insisted that its own particular reforms were the most essential and fundamental, with the result that prohibitionists and saloon-keepers have often unintentionally united to defeat the program of social reform.

Two editorials which appeared just before the election of 1889 in *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), a Republican paper, are interesting and suggestive in regard to the party conditions in Iowa. One of these editorials calls attention to the fact that "Dr. Beardsley [687] closes his list of campaign addresses to-day. . . . That is all he will do for the next two years to earn a salary of $333 a month from the state as oil inspector. In other words, the doctor draws this large salary, and lives on it in princely style, while his deputies do all the work and receive their pay in fees. It is such things as this that renders the republican majority problematical in Iowa this off year." The other editorial in the same issue of the paper described General Weaver as "undoubtedly a man of ability and a man of the people. We have never had any sympathy for the partisan spirit that for years talked him down and finally brought about his overthrow." [688]

In the General Assembly which convened early in January, 1890, the Republicans controlled the Senate by "a majority of six"; but the House contained "two factions, each having fifty votes", made up on one side of Republicans and "an alliance of Democrats, Union Labor men, and Independents on the other side." As a result the House was not permanently organized for more than five weeks. Finally, on February 19th a compromise was arranged by which the Republicans yielded the speakership, "obtaining in return the clerkship,

nearly all of the minor offices, and a majority of the committees." John T. Hamilton of Cedar Rapids became Speaker under this agreement, after one hundred and thirty-six ballots had been taken.[689]

The same General Assembly, immediately after the completion of organization by the House, proceeded to the choice of a successor to Senator Wm. B. Allison. The final vote stood as follows: In the Senate, Allison, 28, S. L. Bestow, 20, Wm. Larrabee, 2; in the House, Allison, 51, S. L. Bestow, 43, Wm. Larrabee, 6. Ex-governor Larrabee received support from the Labor and Independent members.[690]

The legislation of the session included the "joint-rate" law in regard to freight rates which was bitterly opposed by the railroads, and an anti-trust law which increased the penalty for the violation of the provisions of the law passed in 1888. "All attempts to secure a resubmission to the people of the prohibitory constitutional amendment, or to nullify the prohibitory law, failed through the opposition of the Republican members." [691]

The Union Labor and Greenback parties which had met separately in 1889 united the following year under the name of the Union Labor Industrial Party, holding a State convention at Des Moines on August 14, 1890. The platform endorsed "the demands and declaration of principles adopted by the Farmers' and Laborers' Industrial Union of America, at the meeting at St. Louis, on the 6th of December last, and we favor government loans to be made directly to the people at a rate of interest not to exceed two per cent per annum." The platform also favored the Australian ballot and demanded its adoption in Iowa, and denounced "the last General Assembly for withholding it from the people . . . . [and] the

present Congress, and particularly the Iowa members thereof, for defeating the bill for the free coinage of silver." Another plank was added upon motion of General Weaver demanding the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people. "And until we can properly amend the constitution . . . . we favor the nomination of United States senators in the State conventions, pledging in the same resolution all Representatives elected by our party to vote for the nominee at the meeting of the Legislature." [692]

E. H. Gillette, former Greenback Congressman from the Des Moines district, was chosen chairman of the State committee, and nominations were made for Secretary of State and minor State offices. These candidates at the election in November received votes varying from 9,090 for Railroad Commissioner to 8,371 for Treasurer.[693]

It was in the year 1890 that the Farmers' Alliance first took a hand in elections in the West and South. How little anticipation there had been of the startling results may be inferred from a news item in *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington) in June in which reference is made to a rumor that "in a number of districts . . . . the Knights of Labor are uniting [with] the democrats in the congressional campaign, but there is not likely to be any change in the general results. The Knights and Farmer's alliance closed a joint picnic . . . . yesterday. It is said there was an attempt at a combination of the two orders politically, but what was accomplished is not known." [694]

Possibly an editorial in the same paper a month earlier may throw some light on the situation. "Bankers and brokers are opposed to the free coinage of silver. They say there is money enough to carry on trade and traffic.

The common people, the small tradesmen, shop keepers and truck raisers, all know better than that. The currency has been contracted until a dollar in money is worth about twice as much as a dollar's worth of any other sort of property.'' [695] The Populist demand for free coinage of silver was strongly endorsed by thousands who never voted for its candidates nor were represented in its membership. Widespread belief in the inadequacy of the currency was latent in the West and South — it only needed the occasion or opportunity for it to manifest itself. Conditions were less favorable in Iowa than in Kansas.

The Farmers' Alliance had only one candidate for Congress in Iowa in 1890 — A. J. Westfall in the eleventh district, which was made up of the thirteen counties in the northwestern part of the State bordering upon South Dakota and Nebraska. He received 4,658 votes, while the Republican and Democratic candidates each had over 15,000. The successful Republican candidate, George D. Perkins, won by only 907 votes over his Democratic opponent. The significance of this election hardly needs emphasis; the one district where an Alliance candidate was in the field was located in the newest part of the State very close to the chief center of Alliance activity in the West.[696]

In two other districts Union Labor candidates received a considerable vote — 1,243 in the ninth district, composed of nine counties in the southwestern part of the State, and 1,048 in the sixth district, made up of seven counties in the south central portion. These votes represent the remnant chiefly of the earlier independent movements and have not the importance of those cast in the

eleventh district which formed the nucleus of the Populist party in Iowa.[697]

The congressional elections as a whole resulted in the return of six Democrats and five Republicans, a loss of five for the Republicans, giving to the Democrats a majority of the delegation for the first time since the Civil War. Iowa simply shared in the political revolution that swept the country. That one of the factors helping to produce the unusual result may have been the influence of the Farmers' Alliance was suggested by the *Clinton Weekly Age*, which referred to the fact that the Democratic candidates were receiving "the united support" of their party and "in several districts the Farmers' Alliance are rallying to the support of such candidates. In two or three instances the farmers have named the candidates, and the democrats are giving them the most enthusiastic support." [698]

A State Farmers' Alliance had been formed in 1881 as the result of a conflict between the farmers and a syndicate that had obtained the control of the supply of barbed wire. The successful efforts of the Alliance in this matter made clear the possibilities of coöperation in public affairs and led to permanent organization, nonpartisan and limited exclusively to the interests of the farmers. It belonged to the so-called "Northern" Alliance, the activities of which, like those of the Grange and the Farmers' Congress, were non-political in character.[699]

In December, 1890, the State Grange met at Des Moines at the same time that the executive committee of the State Farmers' Alliance was in session. Consolidation of the two organizations was considered and it was decided to "remain separate in name . . . . but that the work

should be consolidated and that they would act in unison on all issues. The particular end sought is a wider influence in politics, which the two organizations will probably seek through the nomination of a State ticket next year'' (1891).[700]

Again in February, 1891, ''the subordinate organizations of the Farmers' Alliance'' were reported to be ''unusually active''. In one county (Montgomery) plans were preparing for the establishing of a weekly paper, and in another (Buchanan) the county alliance was gaining rapidly and would undoubtedly ''figure conspicuously in the next fall election. . . . Information from other parts of the state indicate a studied purpose on the part of the farmers to organize for separate political action next fall.'' [701]

During February, also, a meeting of Farmers' Alliance representatives from Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota, and Nebraska was held at Sioux City, several hundred being present and the session lasting two days. Presidents J. H. Powers of the National Alliance and Furrow of the State Alliance were present. The main object of the meeting was to inaugurate a third party movement, although the plan was strongly opposed. ''The strength of the Alliance movement is in northwestern Iowa, where the influence of Nebraska and South Dakota is felt.'' President Furrow was mentioned as the probable nominee for Governor.[702]

The Sioux City conference authorized the establishment of an Alliance newspaper and decided to employ a secretary and purchasing agent through whom machinery and mercantile supplies might be bought by the farmers.[703] *The Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, early in March, declared that ''many persons do not realize

what a power the farmer alliance has grown to be in this state. In the interior they have their own miscellaneous stores and have stopped trading at hap hazard in the towns. They have thus made existence a serious problem for the mercantile interest." [704]

During the early part of March the "Southern" Farmers' Alliance completed a State organization at Des Moines with J. M. Joseph as president, and Daniel Campbell as vice president. The national president, Col. L. L. Polk, was present and installed the new officers. Congressman-elect Otis of Kansas, General Weaver, and J. R. Sovereign were among the speakers. The most important differences between the two Alliances were that the "Northern" organization only permitted members to act politically in the parties of their choice, while the "Southern" Alliance was also secret, using "some simple grips and pass-words." [705]

Efforts were made to organize local Alliances all over Iowa. Postmasters and prominent men in particular towns received announcements of mass meetings to be held in the interests of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union which they were asked to post in conspicuous places. The committee in charge of the arrangements was made up of General Weaver, J. E. Anderson, J. R. Sovereign, W. H. Robb, and others.[706]

The leaders of "the old Alliance" which had a membership of about 50,000, were strong Republicans and tried to use it to the advantage of that party. They were worried, however, by the "rapid growth of the new organization" which was drawing from their members and was "strong and compact" and could not be controlled and seemed likely "to direct its energies . . . . against the republican party." [707]

Early in May *The Iowa State Register* referred to a circular letter sent out by A. J. Westfall and "a few other Democratic stool pigeons" to the members of the Alliances and other industrial organizations asking for permission to use their names in calling an independent convention at Des Moines on June 3rd. General Weaver and Mr. Sovereign were also associated with the plan, which undertook to do in the State at large what had been done in the eleventh district in 1890. The scheme was described as in the interests of Democracy, because by a comparison of the votes in 1888 and 1890 Westfall's vote was shown to have come almost entirely from the Republicans, as the Democratic vote changed very little.[708]

The Clinton Age, a Democratic paper, refers to the call for a "people's independent convention" by "leaders of various labor and farmer organizations" as "a republican move". "The method of making up the convention will be very interesting. If the delegates are chosen in secret meetings, and the convention is held with closed doors, not one good democrat can consistently attend, nor can one good democrat vote the ticket of the convention. Any oath bound, secret, dark lantern political conclave . . . . is in antagonism to the republican and democratic institutions of this country".[709]

The People's Independent Convention met at the time appointed at Des Moines, was called to order by M. L. Wheat, and J. E. Anderson of Forest City was chosen chairman. About four hundred and twenty-five delegates from sixty counties were present; the largest numbers came from the eighth, sixth, eleventh, and seventh congressional districts, in the order indicated. Speeches were made by Congressman Otis and Mr. Willits of

Kansas, and by Mr. Wheat and Mr. Gillette of Iowa. An unknown delegate said that it had been reported that the only men in the convention were sore-headed Republicans and Democrats and no soldiers. He proposed a rising up of all soldiers. When some one shouted "which soldiers?" the answer was returned "Both sides stand up". After some delay a number of soldiers stood up. The convention was described as "a turbulent and at times uncontrollable body".[710]

Contributions to meet expenses were collected by passing the hat, and over one hundred dollars were received. Subscriptions were then asked for and pledges of two hundred dollars each were made from Crawford, Woodbury, Polk, Plymouth, Dallas, Monona, Pottawattamie, Union, and Cass counties; of one hundred dollars each from Mills, Montgomery, Lyon, Buena Vista, Taylor, Fremont, Ida, Wapello, and Madison; of fifty dollars each from Clarke, Decatur, and Mahaska; of twenty-five dollars from Floyd; and of ten dollars from Worth. The delegate from Floyd County said he did not know whether they could raise any money "because the crops looked so well" in his county "that he didn't know whether the people would have any use for a third party up there."[711] Of the eighteen counties subscribing two hundred or one hundred dollars sixteen were in the western half of the State.

After finances had been provided for, Mr. C. H. Van Wyck[712] of Nebraska, former Republican United States Senator from that State, was introduced and received with great enthusiasm, after which he "read an essay on the political ills of the farmer", which lasted three-quarters of an hour and contained "nothing striking or original or worthy of special attention".[713]

Mr. W. H. Robb, as chairman of the committee on resolutions, reported the platform which was adopted unanimously. The "People's Party of the State of Iowa" ratified and confirmed "the movement inaugurated at the Cincinnati conference, May 19, 1891, and the wise and patriotic platform of principles there adopted." In regard to State issues it condemned "the action of our executive council for its refusal to increase the railroad assessment to an average equal to that of farm and other property"; it demanded the adoption of the Australian ballot system; it denounced the action of the last two General Assemblies for defeating "the two-cent fare", "the uniform school book" bills, and "the bill for the taxation of mortgages"; it sympathized "with the miners of Iowa in their struggle for the eight hour day", promised support for "the abolition of the truck store system", and favored "weekly pay for the miner"; it censured the leaders of "the old parties" for their efforts "to re-open the temperance question . . . . to the exclusion of the grave economic questions which now confront the people"; and it favored State legislation directed at the ultimate suppression of all private corporations "as soon as it can be done with safety to business interests." [714]

Mr. A. J. Westfall, the Alliance candidate for Congress in the eleventh district in 1890, was nominated for Governor. He was "formerly a Republican", but had "since those good days passed through all the stages of inflammatory and inflated politics." He was said "to be a man of some ability, but very erratic." The candidate for Lieutenant Governor was Walter S. Scott, the president of the Miners' Association, whose claim upon the party "consisted in the fact that he is an old Green-

backer and probably that he failed to successfully manage the recent miners' strike." When the nomination was under consideration a delegate asked if he was a temperance man, a Greenbacker, and a deserter from the Republican party. Several members of the convention vouched for him as not a drinking man.[715]

According to *The Iowa State Register* "the old third party leaders" were conspicuous in the management of the convention, and the new party was "composed of the same men who years ago started out to reform the world under the Greenback banner and later as the Union Labor party. The convention did not represent new ideas, but old ones relabelled. It was not composed of new men, but of old time agitators with new hopes." [716]

The Clinton Age maintained that the party "must not be confounded with the Farmers' Alliance. The People's party of Iowa is in no respect a farmer's party. The convention was not called by the Alliance and its proceedings do not have the endorsement of the farmers. . . . [It] may be termed the soreheads party." Another editorial severely condemned the references to railroad assessments and prohibition, as the Democrats had been advocating the same reforms for twenty-five years. "On the whole the platform of the new party is altogether too weak".[717]

Plans were made for an active campaign by the leaders of the new party. "Kansas third party orators will be brought across the Big Muddy in shoals and turned loose to board round among the farm houses on the Iowa prairies. There will be such a mussing up of spare bedrooms and antique china as has not been known out in the country since the first settlements." [718] Another reference to the same matter declared that the party would bring

"all its big guns — male and female" into the campaign: "the new senator from Kansas and Congressman S-k-l-ss Simpson . . . . and two or three ladies from abroad whose names have escaped us".[719]

In September the eleventh district Alliance declared itself independent of the Iowa Farmers' Alliance as the result of a controversy over the violation of the rule in regard to political action. Two representatives were sent to the semi-annual meeting of the district Alliance and they finally succeeded in inducing Westfall and his supporters to admit partisan action "because both of the old parties were controlled by the blood thirsty corporations." Westfall had been district organizer until July, and it was stated that the State Alliance had spent three times as much money upon the eleventh district Alliance as upon any other in the State.[720]

In October an attempt was made at Des Moines to unite the two State Alliances. Colonel Polk and Mrs. Lease addressed the National Alliance and urged consolidation with the Southern Alliance. The conference committee reported in favor of the admission of the latter organization into the older body and the adoption of the secret work after consolidation. President Sanders promptly ruled the report out of order; "Calamity" Weller appealed from the chair; but the Alliance sustained the president by a vote of one hundred and twenty-three to ninety-two.[721]

After the failure of the plan of union, the Southern Alliance reëlected J. M. Joseph, president, and Daniel Campbell, vice president. There was much disappointment over the result of the meeting, since the one object for which they had come to Des Moines had failed. Only forty-eight delegates were present.[722] Evidently in the

State as a whole the farmers were opposed to independent political action. Those committed to such action were confined to the western portion.

Some idea of the feeling aroused during the campaign may be obtained from an editorial in *The Iowa State Register*, in which Weaver and Gillette are referred to as "Iowa's Twin Demagogues". In spite of their continued repudiation " 'Jumping Jim' [Weaver] and 'Heifer Calf Gillette' have steadily harangued the people of the State over 'the oppressions of labor' and 'unequal taxation of the people', and have passed the hat at the close . . . . to gain contributions from laboring men toward the support of themselves and the Tribune!" In the same paper denial was made that "the members of the People's party in Iowa" had been called "Kansas lice". The editor had spoken of and "properly classed the 'Kansas lice' that have crawled from the dust of the sandy plained state . . . . into Iowa . . . . but in no instance have we criticised the honest men who have been inveigled into the People's party trap."[723] Such an explanation was not likely to allay the feeling already aroused, especially when it is considered in connection with the existence of widespread sympathy for many of the opinions held by the Populists.

Governor Boies was reëlected, according to *The Iowa State Register*, "by a lavish expenditure of 'boodle', fraudulent voting . . . . the prejudice of railway employes in regard to the railroad legislation of recent years, the betrayal of the honest Republicans who voted the People's party ticket in good faith and did not realize that their new party was utilized wholly as a trap to catch Republican voters and in which nearly every Democrat was only a stool pigeon for Democracy and

voted the Democratic ticket on election day, and those Independent Republicans who voted for Gov. Boies to again voice their opposition to prohibition.'' [724]

The vote for Governor was as follows: Hiram C. Wheeler (Republican), 199,381; Horace Boies (Democrat), 207,594; and A. J. Westfall (People's), 12,303.

Of the four counties that gave Westfall over five hundred votes all were in the western part of the State. One of these, Monona, he carried with 1,049 votes, while the Republican and Democratic candidates received 1,039 and 801 respectively. The vote for other State officers on the People's party ticket was larger than for Governor, ranging from 12,890 to 13,201. One State senator and one representative were also elected by the People's party from Montgomery and Mills counties.[725] The real contest was between the Republicans and Democrats over prohibition, and the reëlection of Governor Boies by an increased plurality and the election of the entire State ticket of the Democrats was the decisive feature.[726] The efforts of the People's party were obscured by the presence of a single overshadowing issue in a State election where national questions did not interfere. There is no basis for an estimate of the real strength of the new party under the circumstances.

XX

THE IOWA CAMPAIGNS OF 1892 AND 1893

The chief interest in the political situation in Iowa in 1892 was national in character. In the April number of *The Forum* there was an article by a prominent Iowa Republican, entitled "Is Iowa a Doubtful State?" in which reasons were given for the recent defeats — anti-railroad policy, prohibition, and "petty quarrels and jealousies . . . . On the other hand, of late years the Democratic party in the State has been ably led. The old 'bourbons' of the party have been retired and the young men have become leaders. Recruits from the Republican party have been given places of honor. At the last State elections the candidates for governor, lieutenant-governor, and supreme judge on the Democratic ticket were all men who had in recent years been Republicans." [727]

Governor Boies's successes in 1889 and 1891 attracted the attention of political observers to him as a presidential possibility, and early in the year there seemed good ground to expect that he might defeat ex-President Cleveland for the Democratic nomination. He was "said to have been both a Republican and a 'Blaine man' of the most pronounced description" in 1884.[728] These comments suggest that party lines were holding less rigidly than in former years. The pressure of economic and social questions was undermining political divisions founded upon traditional differences. More fluid condi-

tions manifested themselves in movements from the Republican party to the Democratic as well as to the so-called independent or third parties. The process of "permeation" which has produced the readjustments and uncertainties of recent years was at work — gradually the political partisanship of the post-bellum period was passing over into the social politics of to-day.

In June the People's party held a meeting at Des Moines to choose delegates to the national convention at Omaha. About two hundred and fifty persons were present of whom one hundred were from Des Moines. The backward spring interfered with the attendance, preventing the farmers from gathering in as large numbers as would have been the case under more favorable conditions.[729] Among the more prominent persons present were General Weaver, E. H. Gillette, A. J. Westfall, Perry Engle, Walter S. Scott, and J. F. Willits, national lecturer of the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union.

J. Belangee was temporary chairman and Professor Edward A. Ott of Drake University offered prayer. While the committees were deliberating Willits addressed the convention. Mr. F. F. Roe of Woodbury County was made permanent chairman; and his speech was declared to be the same old one. "Belangee made it; Willits made it; Weaver makes it two or three hundred times a year. Willits makes it better than any of the others, Weaver comes next, then Belangee, and Roe drivels along at the tail of the oratorical procession, mumbling the same old speech." [730]

W. H. Robb presented the platform which was made up of "all the denunciations and glittering generalities of former conventions held by this little clique under one name or another." [731] General Weaver was recommended

to the Omaha convention as a candidate for president and delegates were chosen, who met after adjournment, made W. H. Robb chairman, and selected M. L. Wheat to nominate General Weaver.[732] The interest attached to this convention is increased because of General Weaver's nomination at Omaha early in July. Iowa had two presidential possibilities in 1892, one Democratic and one independent or third party — an indication again of the growing fluidity of party relations.

General Weaver's nomination made him again the national leader of his party as he had been in 1880, thus in a personal way illustrating the fact that the Populist party was a direct descendant from the Greenback party. The circumstances of his selection and the general political significance have been considered in another place.[733] Comment by Iowa papers upon his candidacy are of interest in an interpretation of the local situation. *The Clinton Age* considered his nomination as having more significance than any third party nomination "since the birth of the republican organization." Probably that party "would be injured far worse than the democratic party. Should the silver states be satisfied with Weaver and the people's platform, at least eight states may cast their electoral votes for the people's ticket. We refer to Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, North and South Dakota, Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota. These have forty-five electoral votes. It is possible for the states of South Carolina and Arkansas to give their electoral votes to the same ticket." [734]

The same paper reprinted from the *Des Moines Leader* an account of the preparations made to give General Weaver "a rousing reception upon his return. . . . It is quietly hinted that one of the most prominent repub-

licans in Iowa . . . . a lawyer and once member of the bench, will introduce the general . . . . and publicly endorse the principles of the people's party. If the rumor proves true it will create the greatest excitement ever known among Iowa republicans." [735]

Later in July it was announced that Judge C. C. Cole of Des Moines had "joined the Weaver crowd of cranks and deadbeats." "A libelous exchange" offered "as explanation that it" had "become hard work to collect a bill from the ex-jurist." [736]

The proposed reception to General Weaver was held at the Y. M. C. A. quarters in Des Moines about the middle of July. It lasted over three hours, during which four hundred persons were present. Seated upon the platform were General Weaver, Judge C. C. Cole, J. J. Hamilton, J. Belangee, Leonard Brown, Captain J. W. Muffly, and Professor Ott. Judge Cole was the first speaker, and he talked "for over an hour". He was followed by Hamilton, Muffly, Professor Ott, and others, after which General Weaver was introduced by Judge Cole to close the meeting. He declared that the platform was practically the same as the one on which he ran in 1880.[737]

In August a State convention held at Des Moines nominated a full State ticket and candidates for Electors. E. H. Gillette was nominated for Secretary of State, and C. C. Cole and J. M. Joseph for Electors at Large.[738] Considerable difficulty was experienced in getting nominees to accept and the attendance was smaller than usual — less than two hundred delegates being present. Probably the need of two conventions during the year partly accounted for the falling off in numbers.

"Belangee, Scott, Davis, Maine, Robb, Gillette — the

same old roll of calamity howlers [were present]. . . . A couple of recruits have been secured since the last yearly convention", Judge Cole and A. W. C. Weeks of Winterset. The permanent chairman was W. H. Calhoun of Marshall County. "He has been a howler ever since 1876, and consequently is about perfect." W. H. Robb reported the resolutions — "he always does". Others present, in addition to those already named, were J. R. Sovereign, J. E. Anderson, and Leonard Brown. A letter was read from Senator Perry Engle.[739]

A partisan account of the People's party picnic held in Polk County in October described the weather as fine and everything favorable, and yet only three hundred persons were present when Mrs. Lease began to speak and not more than six hundred when she closed. General Weaver was present and made an address. In the evening the Y. M. C. A. quarters were "packed by an expectant crowd" to listen to Mrs. Lease, General Weaver, and Professor Ott. The rally was "a conspicuous failure in point of numbers and served only to reveal the utter poverty of votes in the People's party."[740]

At the general election in November, Iowa cast 20,595 votes for General Weaver as president out of a total of 443,159 — a little less than five percent. E. H. Gillette, who headed the State ticket as candidate for Secretary of State, received 20,356 votes.[741] In the congressional districts the Populists had candidates in all except the third and fourth, while in the eleventh the Populist nominee was accepted by the Democrats. There was a difference of only 1,277 votes between Daniel Campbell, fusion, and Geo. D. Perkins, Republican. As in 1890 the margin was narrow and the district contained the largest

Populist constituency in the State. The candidates and votes arranged in order of number of votes received were as follows:[742]

Walter S. Scott	Eighth District	3,687 votes
E. S. Owens	Sixth District	2,889 votes
F. W. Myers	Ninth District	2,610 votes
Ed. A. Ott	Seventh District	2,562 votes
John E. Anderson	Tenth District	1,689 votes
Thomas J. Sater	First District	691 votes
Thomas E. Mann	Fifth District	637 votes
Charles Dalton	Second District	557 votes

Negotiations were carried on between the Democrats and Populists for fusion upon the electoral ticket, but as the last named party insisted upon the endorsement of its ticket in full no arrangement was made.[743]

A Republican judgment after the election concluded that "a party that can carry four or five States in a presidential election certainly has reason to hope . . . . The Democratic party is now in the ascendency, and it remains to be seen if the Republicans can hold even second place. We think it probable that the People's will advance to second place by the action of the farmers, who will not ally themselves to any extent with the democratic populations of the city . . . . politics will take on more and more a commercial and industrial aspect, as the Republican party has intended that it should, and that greater good is possible under such a system than where it is a question of patriotism on one side and office on the other."

Another editorial in the same paper diagnosed the Republican defeat under the title of "The Smash-Up". "For twenty years it [the Republican party] has been suspected of consorting with designing men. Its great

strength has gone out in a sinful and lustful way to combinations of capital . . . . Yet the Republican policy of recent years was not the choice of a majority of its members. The party has been in the hands of machine politicians and office holders . . . . The country was and is wonderfully prosperous. The public, however, decided to entertain the suspicion that all of this great prosperity was too much one-sided in its application, the bulk of it going to the few and the modicum to the many." [744]

Contrast with this searching confession and analysis the implication contained in the imaginary prayer supposed to be uttered daily by General Weaver: "O, Lord, thou knowest we have undertaken to organize a new party, thou knowest also that to succeed we must have thy help. So we come to thee humbly and beseech thee for thy aid. We pray thee not to favor the farmer, for should he be blessed with good crops he would not be in a state of discontent, and we would be unable to get in our work. Therefore, O Lord, visit him with droughts and thy other multitudinous misfortunes. Make the chinchbugs plentiful, let grasshoppers multiply abundantly, and foster insects of every description. And, O Lord, in those districts where these means cannot move the farmers, visit them with sweeping hail storms and kindred disasters. And O Lord, make the times hard for the laboring man; increase the number of strikes and see to it that wages are greatly reduced. All this we ask for the sake of our new party, and again beseech thee to grant our very humble petition. Amen." [745]

A "symposium" in *The Iowa State Register* early in December was devoted to a discussion of the election results by General Weaver for the Populists, Hon. W. W.

Witmer for the Democrats, and Hon. W. M. McFarland for the Republicans. The "Triangular Opinion" represented excellently the point of view of the three parties. General Weaver's presentation was given first place and was first in importance. It was the only one that undertook a real analysis of the situation and tried to get at fundamentals; the others played upon the surface of things or repeated political platitudes. General Weaver reviewed the political situation from 1876 to 1892; showed how the Greenback party had failed; referred to the Republican defeat in 1884 as "a mere verbal accident in a small meeting in a single state"; and described the failure of the Democratic party to formulate a policy to allay the popular discontent and the resulting return of the Republicans to control, only to be swept out again in 1892. "The Republican administration . . . . was a complete disappointment. . . . With money pools, railroad pools, meat pools, wheat pools, and business whirlpools menacing society on every hand, they [the Democrats] sit dumb in the midst of it all like the unthinking anvil, while a million hands wielding a million hammers, continue to forge out by sturdy blows a higher and more humane civilization."

The Democratic contributor did not mention the new political factor represented by General Weaver, and the Republican contributor devoted two lines to it referring to "the People's party vote of the west, drawn almost exclusively from the Republican party".[746]

The Clinton Age indicated the Democratic opinion in an editorial entitled the "Balance of Power", in which it referred to a prediction that General Weaver would be the next United States Senator from Iowa. The prediction was "based on the supposition that he will work up

fusions on legislative candidates in counties where the Populists have the balance of power, and that these fusion representatives will hold the balance of power in joint ballot in the next assembly. And if democrats continue to vote the people's ticket Weaver will more than likely be the next United States Senator." [747]

The successes of 1892 naturally led to renewed effort during the following year, when the State election for Governor gave another opportunity to test the strength of the new party. That the background of popular sentiment which furnished the real foundation for its importance had not changed is shown by newspaper comments during the early part of the year before the active campaign had begun. Governor Boies told an interviewer that he was "in favor of an unlimited coinage of both gold and silver upon a ratio that will preserve the parity of the two metals when coined into money." [748] There had been persistent rumors that he planned to be a candidate for the Senate, nominated, as Palmer of Illinois had been, in State convention.[749] The Democratic platform of 1892 had declared its "purpose to nominate candidates for the United States Senate in general convention, and demand such a change in our National Constitution as will permit the election of the same by direct vote of the people." [750]

A Republican paper at Burlington expressed itself repeatedly in favor of silver coinage. In March it said "the new Congress ought to clean out the hoard of Silver bullion now in the treasury vaults by coining a billion dollars of it and placing it in general circulation by paying it out for pensions, salaries and the general expenses of the government." [751] Again in May it described "the free coinage of silver" as "but simple justice to both the

debtor and the creditor. This is the view that has been growing rapidly all over the West for several years, and recent financial events have served to crystallize and solidify it".[752] And again in June it declared that the friends of the "proposed free silver coinage measure" were "so numerous all over the West and South, and have so large a voice in shaping congressional action, that it requires no prophet to see into the financial legislation of the near future . . . . no amount of manipulating by the Eastern conspirators . . . . is going to change the spirit or the demand of the South and West." [753]

The Washington correspondence of the same paper at about the same time contained some interesting comments upon currency matters. Beginning with a reference "to the well-settled doctrine of the Republican party that the currency should be sound, stable, and of sufficient volume to transact the business of the country", the writer expressed the opinion that the stock of silver held by the government was sufficient for the present and that it would be well to stop purchase "until such time as the value of the two metals shall more nearly correspond. But it is said the country needs more money. Yes it does, and it should be forthcoming. The old legal tender greenback, or treasury note, redeemable in coin, is the best and most satisfactory money we ever had and now is the time for a new issue of it. If the country could float $300,000,000 at its face value as it did twenty years [ago], it could now float twice or three times that amount just as readily. The republican party gave the country the original greenback . . . . and for twenty years they have stood the equal of the best dollars in the world, based as they are upon the worth, the faith and the credit

of the country, and now that our ability to pay has been so many times doubled I would like to see the republican party of Iowa take the lead in demanding the issue of six hundred millions of dollars more of the same old brand invented by Chase and approved by Lincoln." [754]

In July free silver meetings were held in Des Moines, addressed by General Weaver, Judge C. C. Cole, Congressman Bryan, and J. R. Sovereign. The open-air meeting was described as "well attended" and there was an overflow meeting held in connection with the one at the courthouse. One of the speakers said that he was present as a Republican representative of the mining interests of Utah, Montana, and Nevada. "We took care of $450,000,000 of greenbacks once and I guess we can handle $50,000,000 of silver", was his startling conclusion.[755]

When the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act was under consideration *The Iowa State Register* expressed the opinion editorially that "every Republican senator and representative ought to be very careful about aiding Wall street and free trade Democracy to repeal the Sherman silver law . . . . We need more money, and it is much better to float silver certificates on a silver bullion basis than it would be for the government to issue bonds and pay interest thereon to provide the necessary increased circulation. . . . The Register is not in favor of free silver coinage, but greatly prefers the continued purchase of silver bullion, and the issuance of silver certificates thereon, to the government being compelled to issue bonds and pay interest on the increased circulation we must have as the population and business of the country increases." [756]

After the repeal the same Republican paper declared

that it had "no hesitation in saying that it believed in the Sherman law. It has been a good law. It is sorry to see it repealed without a substitute. The country has been cut adrift from the long established Republican principle of silver money as well as gold." [757]

These opinions coming from a variety of sources illustrate the popular knowledge and feeling as to currency matters, especially in the party chiefly responsible for legislation and administration because of long continued occupation of power and responsibility — a party which within three years was to wage an epoch-making campaign in favor of "sound money". Such considerations help one in understanding the position of the Populists during these years. They were much more representative of the prevailing currency views of the time than has usually been recognized. We have learned by experience and sometimes have been saved only by accident and in spite of ourselves from disaster. Neither the eastern banker nor the western farmer was entirely correct in his conclusions upon the money problem. Each could learn much from the other about certain aspects of the question. Each overlooked something vital that the other knew by experience and observation. Could traditional and partisan obstacles have been overcome even a State like Iowa might have voted by a large majority for something closely approaching free coinage through a sincere belief in the need of more money.

The social unrest of the time was increased by business panic and trade depression; not only financial reorganization was demanded, but wider discussion was common. Rev. Geo. D. Herron had come to Burlington in January, 1892, as assistant to Dr. William Salter, whose growing infirmities compelled him to give up his work. His

success as a preacher was immediate and his sermons were published in the local papers. His position was that of a Christian Socialist, inasmuch as he urged the need of social reform upon Christian principles; and his point of view and method of approach led to the acceptance of many extreme views by conservative church people. He came to be greatly in demand as a speaker, and in 1893 he went to Grinnell College, where a chair of Applied Christianity had been founded for him by a wealthy admirer. His "sermons read well; they remind one of the expressions of an inspired prophet; they have the ring of genuine sentiment and conviction." [758]

In June, 1893, Dr. Herron made an address at Lincoln, Nebraska, during the University commencement season in which he declared that there was "no justice in the courts, that anarchy had its origin in this country, that the American nation has failed of its mission, and that 'except the nation repent it cannot survive'." Governor Lorenzo Crounse had "the fortitude and heroism to follow Dr. Herron's anarchistic address to the graduating class with a talk of very differing tenor in which he properly denounced the Herron philosophy as false and misleading and very harmful." [759]

The trustees of Grinnell College had already appointed a committee to define the field to be covered by the chair of Applied Christianity the "day before Dr. Herron astonished and pained so many of his friends by his intemperate and foolish remarks at Lincoln". The College was embarrassed by such public utterances and friends and supporters alienated. This action marked the beginning of the end of a promising career. Dr. Herron finally resigned in 1900. Since that time he has lived in retirement in Italy.[760]

Another Iowan who attracted considerable attention for a time was James R. Sovereign, who in November, 1893, succeeded T. V. Powderly as head of the Knights of Labor. He had been Grand Master Workman of the Iowa State Knights of Labor, and Governor Boies had appointed him Labor Commissioner in 1890 and again in 1892. The appointment was described by contemporaries as made because of the votes he was "supposed to have 'delivered' as an influential member of the Knights of Labor".[761] At another time he was referred to as "Blunder" Boies's "chief of staff, corn statistics falsifier, and real leader of Iowa Democracy."[762] He was radical and controversial in his attitude, and as head of the Iowa Knights of Labor he waged "a heavy war . . . . on poor Calamity Weller . . . . because of Weller's opposition to him personally."[763] While still Labor Commissioner he was active in the Populist party and advocated the free coinage of silver. As head of the Knights he was associated with Eugene V. Debs in the railroad strike of 1894.

Naturally there was difference of opinion about such a man among those who were familiar with his activities. *The Clinton Age* regarded him as "well equipped. . . . No man in the land has given all phases of the labor question more study than he. He is well educated, possesses a headful of brains, carries about with him a large amount of horse sense, and is an honest man."[764] On the other hand *The Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, referring to Mr. Powderly's retirement, remarked that the election of Mr. Sovereign would not "have a tendency to strengthen the Knights. The nature of their affair is such that they cannot hope to enlist really com-

petent leaders in it. Like the Democratic party, the Knights of Labor can have no great leaders.'' [765]

It is certainly a significant fact that Iowa should furnish at the same time three national leaders in different phases of the radical movement of the period. As already suggested it was in such ways that the real strength of the People's party was manifested, rather than in the results in State and national contests. The early nineties constituted a period of unrest which appeared concretely in the form of a new political party, in the rise of social reformers like Bellamy and Herron, and in a radical and aggressive labor movement like the Knights of Labor under the leadership of Sovereign.

The State convention of the People's party met at Des Moines on September 5, 1893, with an attendance of three hundred and nineteen delegates from seventy-eight counties. J. M. Joseph was temporary chairman and made a speech lasting one and one-half hours mainly devoted to the silver question. A. J. Westfall was elected permanent chairman; while General Weaver ran the convention, wrote the platform, and presented it. The meeting was noisy and irregular in its proceedings.[766]

The platform was devoted largely to the coinage of silver, and declared that ''the one overshadowing, all-absorbing issue before the American people'' was ''whether the debtors of the United States shall be allowed to pay their debts in the money of the constitution, or whether their homes and property shall be confiscated for the benefit of pirates. The only party that votes as a unit against the tricks of the millionaires is the People's party. There are only two parties to-day — the People's party and the gold party.'' [767]

J. M. Joseph was nominated for Governor after A. J. Westfall had been proposed as a candidate and had declined, and in spite of the opposition of W. H. Robb, who tried to stampede the convention for A. W. C. Weeks of Winterset. Joseph was described as "a rich man". Professor E. A. Ott [768] of Drake University, "a preacher by profession" and a candidate for Congress in 1892, received the nomination for Lieutenant Governor; and a woman, Mrs. E. J. Woodrow, was nominated for Superintendent of Public Instruction. She was referred to as "a pretty woman and a school teacher at Marshalltown." [769]

Before adjournment General Weaver presided over a meeting to raise money for campaign expenses. At first money was thrown upon the platform, about two hundred and sixty-nine dollars being raised in this manner. Altogether four hundred and thirteen dollars and seven cents in cash and seven hundred and thirty-three dollars in pledges was collected.[770]

The Populists carried on "a tremendously active and audible campaign" during the last four weeks before the election. They brought in about fifteen of the best speakers they could secure from Texas, Colorado, and Kansas. The first meeting was held in Des Moines. "It was a big show. They . . . . secured a good minstrel man and he, with his banjo and his funny songs and burlesques", was a "great part of the attraction and will be throughout the campaign. But the principal speaker . . . . is no less a show, and the way he 'skins' the Democracy is worth going miles to hear." [771]

The election resulted in a vote for Governor distributed as follows: [772] Republican, 206,821; Democratic, 174,660; and People's, 23,980. Governor Boies had been renom-

inated for a third term, but he failed of reëlection by 32,161 votes; compared with the vote of 1891 the Republican candidate gained 7,440 and the Populist 11,677, while the Democratic candidate lost 32,934. The Republican, Populist, and Prohibition gain about equalled the Democratic loss. The Populist candidates for other offices received more votes than did the candidate for Governor, ranging from 24,141 to 24,266. *The Clinton Age* believed that the Democratic loss and Populist gain could be accounted for partly by the hard times and partly by recent silver legislation. It regarded the prohibition issue as of less importance.[773]

XXI

INDUSTRIAL UNREST IN IOWA

The most dramatic event during the year 1894 in Iowa was probably the passage of "Kelly's Army" through the State during April and May. This "army" was one of the most important of a number of groups of unemployed men and tramps that traversed the country from the Pacific coast to Washington during this year. About three hundred and fifty men left San Francisco on April 3, 1894. After a variety of experiences and an increase of numbers to about fifteen hundred, they arrived in Council Bluffs on April 15th in a Union Pacific train of twenty-five coal and cattle cars which they had seized at Unita, Utah, on April 12th. They had been supplied with provisions at several places en route on condition that they continue upon their journey. Governor Jackson of Iowa proceeded to Council Bluffs to meet Kelly; five militia companies were ordered to rendezvous at Council Bluffs, but there was no disturbance. Kelly was described as "a shrewd, well-read young man"; and the men under him had confidence in his management.[774]

The following day the "army", increased by one hundred and fifty recruits and supplied with food, marched out a few miles to a town named Weston, where it still further increased to 1,900 and received fourteen wagon loads of provisions. Sympathizers seized a train, but Kelly refused to make use of it fearing some trick. It next marched to a neighboring town where it was received

by the mayor, council and citizens. Kelly declared that the unemployed ought to be set to work in irrigating the arid lands of the West. On April 29th the "army" arrived at Des Moines in a very fatigued condition. Food and shelter were provided for them and the people were sympathetic.

Kelly tried to secure transportation for his men, but failed. On May 3rd there was a demonstration [775] of laboring people in Des Moines and a march to the capitol building to demand that Governor Jackson secure a train. General Weaver was described as the "master of ceremonies." [776] Governor Jackson read letters from the railroads refusing to transport the men for less than full fare; and he promised to lay the matter before the Executive Council and he thought that funds might be obtained to carry the army in boats to the Mississippi River.[777] On May 6th the construction of boats to transport the army down the Des Moines River began. The citizens of Des Moines paid the cost of the boats and supplied provisions for one day. On May 9th Kelly started with one hundred and four boats each containing from eight to ten men. They met with rough weather as the river was swollen with the spring rains, but on May 28th they arrived at St. Louis, where the force divided.[778]

Contemporary comments upon the "army" throw light upon the opinions of the people of the State. *The Saturday Evening Post* noted that it "consumed a month in crossing this State. . . . They found it an easy country to get into and a hard one to get out of." The reception was "characteristic of Iowa people. The 'army' was not at any time in danger of starvation, but there were no ovations tendered it." [779]

Professor Jesse Macy believed that there were "large

numbers of men who were out of work, and they wanted to get from the West to the East. After the movement was started there were many who availed themselves of the cheap transportation.'' Some of the men who left Kelly's army and visited Grinnell ''frankly stated that they joined the army for this purpose. . . . The Populist movement in Iowa is not formidable. . . . The present financial distress has not borne heavily upon this section of the country. It is always difficult to promote a new party in the absence of a grievance.'' [780]

Governor Jackson seems to have used excellent judgment in dealing with a difficult situation. He went himself to Council Bluffs to meet the ''army'' and to deal with it in a way that would mean the least loss and trouble to the State. He asked the Rock Island Railroad to furnish a train of box cars to transport the men to Davenport and promised that the State would pay the actual cost. The Rock Island at first offered to transport half of the men if the Milwaukee would carry the remainder, but later withdrew the offer, probably because of pressure from Illinois people, unless all the trunk lines would transport their quota. Governor Jackson then wrote these other lines and received refusals from all three, the Milwaukee, the Northwestern, and the Burlington. He then tried to secure transportation from the Missouri Pacific to Kansas City; and he also attempted to get steamboats from Sioux City.[781]

Judge N. M. Hubbard, attorney for the Northwestern Railroad, was the aggressive opponent of conciliatory measures in dealing with the ''army''. He insisted upon the calling out of the militia and in general conducted himself in a way to bring down upon himself the severe criticism of many people. His extreme position was

shown by his declarations that if a train were seized he would "ditch it if it destroys every car and hurts a lot of men." [782] He also threatened to use "a wild engine, open the throttle and send it down to meet the captured train, and the wreck will solve the problem as to whether we are obliged to carry these men without remuneration." [783]

The Iowa State Register described the "army" as not made up of tramps as many people thought. They were "legitimate unemployed men, admitting to their ranks only legitimate unemployed and barring professional tramps." [784] After the arrival of the "army" at Des Moines the "stories" of over eighty of the men were collected and printed and they confirmed the judgment expressed above. Kelly declared in a speech made in Des Moines that eighty percent of the men were American citizens and one-third married men. The recruits from Des Moines, numbering about fifty, were drawn not from residents but from unemployed men from other cities.[785]

After the army had gone the same paper declared editorially that the cost to the people of Iowa had been at least $50,000, while five hundred dollars would have been a good price for a train across the State. "The Register went on record early, on rushing Kelly's army across the state, and that record is endorsed by all intelligent people except the railroad managers, who were determined to keep the army out of Chicago at all hazards, and the organs they are able to control by the distribution of thousand-mile tickets. The army that will pass Iowa in a month ought to have been sent across the state in a night." [786]

A really penetrating and constructive discussion was contained in *The Midland Monthly* for June, 1894. "The

real responsibility", it declared, "for the presence of 'General' Kelly's 'Industrial Army' in our midst attaches to the Central Pacific Railroad, or to certain of its officials, presumably acting with authority, who practically invited the capture of a train . . . . and actually hauled the alleged captors all the way across Utah, Colorado and Nebraska, making every arrangement for their comfort on the trip and landing them at the very easternmost point of the line upon the western border of Iowa. This 'army' is entirely exceptional. . . . It is a deeply interesting surface development of the industrial unrest of the period, an unrest chiefly due to the sudden and sharp transition from a period of industrial activity to one of general stagnation. . . . The people are not doing much philosophizing on the situation, and yet they are sorrowfully aware that many conditions do exist which should not. . . . These conditions are unfortunate, for, divested of prejudice, can any reasonable mind reject the general proposition that labor as well as capital has claims which governments are bound in duty and in self-interest to respect and, within reasonable limits, allow. This brings us face to face with the real question behind this general confusion of ideas and conditions. . . . Why should not government apply to the labor market the same business common sense which it applies to the money market for the prevention of disaster? Temporary relief from strained conditions in the labor market, as in the money market, should be given not as a gratuity, but as an exchange, — in the one case, so much gold for so many bonds; in the other, so much currency, or its representative notes, for so much labor. . . . Why should a government that spends millions for navies and fortifications, and millions more

for the improvement of rivers and harbors, refuse to irrigate the vast arid regions of the territories? . . . . The only warrantable appearance of the government on the labor market is for the employment of labor to expedite public works which must be pushed to speedy completion, and for the employment of labor upon works — for instance such as the Hennepin Canal — to which government is committed and yet upon which more or less labor may be performed in any given period, as the conditions of the labor market suggest as wise and profitable. Our national government and most of the states are already committed to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. This is well, but it logically calls for some use of the statistics which are from year to year obtained, some application of the suggestions which these statistics make. . . . The economy of prevention must force us as a people into systematic regulation of the labor market. Suppose, for example, our government had been prepared with plans and specifications for the prosecution of work all along the line of the Hennepin Canal, between Chicago and Moline . . . . what a relief it would have been to communities everywhere, had the men discharged from factories and shops been able to temporarily enter government service on such works at even a minimum wage!'' [787]

The suggestions made in the discussion just quoted are as pertinent in 1914 as twenty years earlier, and unfortunately entirely untried even to the present time when we are again wrestling with the same problem under even more complicated social conditions.

A more important manifestation of industrial unrest in 1894 was the great railroad strike of June and July; but Iowa fortunately was much less seriously involved in

that outbreak. The American Railway Union had only three lodges in the State at the beginning of the strike — in Des Moines, Davenport, and Council Bluffs.[788] Very little interruption of traffic occurred until July 2nd and practically all trouble was over by July 10th.

The most serious disturbances took place at Sioux City where, on July 2nd, a mob invaded the railroad yards, "spiked switches, threw cars off the track and stoned the engineers and firemen in the cabs." The two local militia companies were called to their armories, but they were unable to handle the situation, and an appeal was made to the Governor for assistance. Eight companies from neighboring towns were ordered to the city where they arrived on the evening of July 4th. As they marched up town the mob, swollen by the crowds out for the holiday, numbered six or eight thousand and the situation looked ominous. Some missiles were thrown and the soldiers pricked a few people with their bayonets; and two militia men were injured, but not seriously. On July 10th the troops were withdrawn as there had been no trouble since the day of their arrival.[789]

On July 3rd there was a labor demonstration held near the courthouse in Des Moines, attended by five or six thousand people to express sympathy with the strikers. Resolutions were adopted and speeches made by several labor leaders and Populists. Mr. Willits of Kansas urged the careful avoidance of all lawlessness; W. W. Pattee, president of the local American Railway Union, Andrew Engle, and a clergyman by the name of Ford were the remaining speakers.[790] On July 11th Grand Master Sovereign called upon all Knights of Labor to join in a sympathetic strike, but there was no general response, *The Iowa State Register* referring to it as

"Sovereign's fiasco" and remarking that he had "frittered away what little strength his order had when Mr. Powderly was compelled to lay down the leadership through the intrigue of Sovereign and other nincompoops who are not worthy to walk in even Powderly's footsteps."[791] Sovereign claimed that one million men would obey his order, while it was doubtful if his organization had 50,000 members in good standing — in its best days it did not claim more than 700,000 members.[792]

Of the strike as a whole *The Iowa State Register* concluded that it had "accomplished nothing directly. The most that has been done is to agitate the minds of men anew in regard to the questions of labor and capital, and to that extent the disturbances have been useful. . . . We also hope that congress will have the courage to take in hand the matter of regulating the Pullman sleeping and dining car methods and prices. The railroad stockholders and the traveling public have both been robbed systematically. This is why the company has a surplus of $18,000,000 after paying enormous dividends on watered stocks and stock dividends, while at the same time it has made beggars of its employes."[793]

Here again is a suggestion from Iowa which has not yet been acted upon to any considerable extent, although the Interstate Commerce Commission has very mildly touched the matter by making a slight difference in the charges allowed for lower and upper berths. Such proposals as have been noted in regard to unemployment and to Pullman rates represent the solid substratum that underlay the Populist party in Iowa and gave it a significance beyond numerical majorities and successful candidates.

XXII

FREE SILVER AND POPULIST GAINS IN IOWA

The agitation for the free coinage of silver continued actively during 1894 although it was somewhat obscured by the industrial disturbances which have just been described. An Interstate Silver Conference was held at Des Moines on March 21st and 22nd made up of delegates from Colorado, Montana, North Dakota, Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, Alabama, Iowa and "possibly several additional states. . . . The largest, most enthusiastic and representative delegation in attendance was that from Butte and other great mining centers in the state of Montana . . . . headed by Hon. Lee Mantle, an eminent Republican and able free silver advocate". General A. J. Warner of Ohio called the conference to order; Judge C. C. Cole gave the address of welcome; and General Warner delivered the principal speech. The attendance was "only fair, but the enthusiasm unbounded". The purpose "appears to be to obliterate party lines and unite all elements upon the silver issue."[794]

On the second day there was a noticeable increase in the number of delegates and the general attendance was much better. Leonard Brown obtained the floor and "paralyzed the convention with a rabid socialistic speech, teeming with paternal suggestions and common weal sentiments." Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota was called for and made an address. He was followed by other speakers; resolutions were adopted; and at the end of the evening session the conference adjourned.[795]

In April *The Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington declared editorially that the "agitation in favor of free coinage of Silver continues all over the country with unabated strength and is evidently meeting with increased favor among the people. Mr. James S. Clarkson stated in a recent interview that the next National campaign would be fought over the silver idea, and that he believed it would prevail because a majority of the people really want its rehabilitation. . . . During the sessions of the National Silver convention held in Des Moines recently, some interesting facts were brought out. . . . Friends of the Silver movement see in the unlimited coinage of that metal a release of the people from the web spun so carefully around them by the old-world monetary system. While prices of commodities would advance, and the people might suffer somewhat at first from the sudden inflation, it would in the long run confer a lasting benefit on them by furnishing them with the ready money necessary to the active prosecution of business." [796]

The campaign of 1894 in Iowa was for minor State officials and for members of Congress. Early in the summer there was considerable talk of fusion between the Democrats and Populists, both upon the State and congressional candidates, and it was planned to hold both party State conventions at the same time.[797] The arrangement was not carried out, and the Democratic convention was held at Des Moines on August 1st. It was managed by the administration machine and there was little opposition and discussion except over the question of silver. A substitute for the committee report, which declared for the use of both gold and silver and the maintenance of the parity of values, was offered by

Colonel C. H. Mackey of Keokuk County, who claimed he represented a large part of the Democrats of Iowa, but was rejected by a vote of six hundred and ninety-seven to three hundred and twenty-nine. The only roll call was in the vote upon silver which occurred when many entire delegations had left the convention and only a few for each were present. Ex-Governor Boies was permanent chairman and made a speech which was described as the only noteworthy feature of the sessions. His address was conservative upon silver and labor disturbances and was not received with much enthusiasm. The platform repeated the demand for the election of United States Senators "by direct vote of the people".[798]

The Populist State convention assembled at Des Moines during the first week in September with six hundred and twenty-four delegates in attendance. The largest number of delegates came from the eighth congressional district which had one hundred and four representatives; while the eleventh, sixth, and ninth districts, ranked next with eighty-five, eighty-three, and eighty-one delegates, respectively. All these districts but the sixth were in the western part of the State. General Weaver, Dr. Perry Engle, M. L. Wheat, Leonard Brown, F. F. Roe, W. H. Robb, and A. W. C. Weeks were the leaders present — described by *The Iowa State Register* as the "old gang" with "some new recruits from the Democratic party and some misguided working men." There was no talk of fusion on the State ticket, but General Weaver claimed that there was a chance to carry seven congressional districts by fusion with the Democrats.[799]

Mr. W. H. Robb, who was both temporary and permanent chairman, made a long speech upon silver, the Democratic administration, and the national banks. His

references to silver were "received with yells of delight." After the appointment of committees, General Weaver was called for and responded with a speech in which he urged breadth and liberality "to build up a great party. You can't have all honest men in any party — it would live forever, and no party ought to live more than three terms of power. 'I am a middle-of-the-road man, but I don't propose to lie down across it so no one can get over me. Nothing grows in the middle of the road'."

In the afternoon M. L. Wheat, "the Jasper county wind-bag, was given the opportunity for the first time in several years to 'blow off'. He favored fusion with the Democrats". Some money was raised for "the Pullman and A. R. U. strikers" and for party expenses.[800]

The platform declared for free coinage of silver, opposed the issue of bonds "under any pretext whatever", protested against an increase of railroad rates in the State, and demanded a maximum two-cent passenger rate and a "mileage book good on all railroads." In addition it maintained that there should be "no discrimination on account of rank" in the payment of pensions; and that "the people should have the power to propose legislation as well as vote direct upon all general laws passed by legislative bodies."[801]

A resolution was proposed for "the adoption of a comprehensive amendment to the federal constitution, which shall re-enact all valuable portions of the constitution of 1789 as subsequently amended and incorporate therein those necessary reforms which are now constitutionally impracticable, including elective United States senators, a single term of the presidency, determined by popular vote, an elective supreme court holding office for a definite term, with similar subordinate courts, direct

legislation by the people through the initiative and referendum, and such broad extensions of popular rights as shall set the people absolutely free to govern themselves in their own way and to conduct in their national or local capacity such industries as may be withdrawn by monopoly from individual competition, and such other enterprises as may meet the public approval as properly subject to popular conduct." The resolution closed with a call for "a mass convention of the American people to assemble in . . . . Des Moines on the first Monday in December, 1894, to consider the necessary amendment of the fundamental law of the land." General Weaver expressed approval, but the resolution was laid on the table by a large majority.[802]

The proposal for the amendment of the federal Constitution is interesting both because of the mere fact of the suggestion itself and because of the proposed amendments. After the first few decades under the Constitution any proposal to alter the document came to be regarded as unpatriotic and as hostile to the Union. Only recently have such suggestions begun again to appear as a way out from the use of the power of the courts to block social progress by declaring legislation unconstitutional. Mr. Croly in his *Progressive Democracy* states that "Professor Munroe Smith is justified in declaring 'that the first article of any sincerely intended progressive program must be the amendment of the amending clause of the Constitution.' In practice the monarchy of the Law hangs suspended to the nail of this particular bit of writing, and as long as it remains intact the political destinies of the American people will have to rest to an unnecessary and unwholesome extent upon the dicta of a board of judicial trustees." [803]

Again, as in the editorial comments upon the Industrial Army of "General" Kelly and the railroad strike, here is a constructive proposal which has remained dormant for nearly twenty years, but which is now forcing itself upon public attention. "The absurd effort to make the world over" [804] of 1894 is the serious proposal of one of the most thoughtful students of modern democracy in the United States.

Nominations were made with little discussion and usually by acclamation — except in the case of Railroad Commissioner, for which W. W. Pattee, president of the local A. R. U., was proposed in order to please the labor element. Mr. Westfall opposed the suggestion "chiefly because he wanted a man from his part of the state." Finally, Mr. Pattee was named by acclamation.

W. H. Calhoun of Marshalltown advocated a resolution to substitute State ownership of all intoxicants and the repeal of the mulct tax law. M. L. Wheat opposed the resolution and the committee upon platform said that the matter had been omitted by them because it could not be affected by the coming election. The resolution was defeated by a large vote.[805]

The election resulted in the following vote for the head of the State ticket, the Secretary of State: Republicans, 229,376; Democrats, 149,980; and People's, 34,907. The Populist candidate for Secretary of State led his party ticket in point of votes; the others received votes ranging from 34,850 to 34,633 — except in the case of Supreme Court Judge where there was partial fusion and of Supreme Court Reporter where the fusion was complete.[806]

In the congressional elections [807] there were fusions in the third, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth districts, the candidates being Populists in four out of the five.[808] The

votes and candidates in the other districts were as follows: J. O. Beebe, first district, 2,065; Chas. A. Lloyd, second district, 1,573; L. H. Weller, fourth district, 1,256; W. H. Calhoun, fifth district, 1,218; Allen Clark, sixth district, 5,663; and J. L. Bartholomew, eleventh district, 5,265. General Weaver was defeated by 3,057 votes in the ninth district — which was referred to as a "notable incident" by *The Review of Reviews.*[809]

A comparison of the votes in Congressional districts in 1892 and 1894 follows:

	1892	*1894*
First district	691	2065
Second district	557	1573
Third district	No Populist candidate	Fusion
Fourth district	No Populist candidate	1256
Fifth district	637	1218
Sixth district	2889	5663
Seventh district	2562	Fusion
Eighth district	3687	Fusion
Ninth district	2610	Fusion
Tenth district	1689	Fusion
Eleventh district	Fusion candidate	5265

Every district shows a gain for the Populists either numerically, or by the fact of fusion or the presence of a candidate or fusion in 1894 where there was neither in 1892. These facts compared with the increase on the State ticket from 23,980 to 34,907 suggests that Populism was not declining even in the number of votes cast.[810]

The only issue in the State election of 1895 was the free coinage of silver. The control of the Democratic organization by the administration through federal office-holders caused the free silver Democrats to attempt a preconvention union of forces by which they might be

able to assert themselves more effectively than in 1894. Accordingly, a conference of silver Democrats was called to meet at Des Moines on June 6th, and, at the time designated, about fifty persons assembled. Ex-Lieutenant Governor Bestow presided, and among the persons present were ex-Congressman Fred White, W. H. McHenry of Des Moines, S. B. Evans of Ottumwa, General Weaver, and Rev. S. H. Bashor, organizer for the Bimetallic League of Iowa. Speeches were made, resolutions adopted, and committees appointed to make ready for effective action at the State convention.[811]

On the preceding day a non-partisan silver conference had been held in Des Moines with an attendance of about one hundred. The meetings were called to order by the Secretary of the Bimetallic League, and among the leading men present were ex-Congressman White, Colonel G. L. Godfrey, B. F. Gue, Judge C. C. Cole, W. H. Robb, General Weaver, F. Q. Stuart, J. R. Sovereign, S. H. Bashor, Amos Steckel, and Ex-Lieutenant Governor Bestow. Mr. Steckel was made chairman, Judge Cole delivered the address of welcome, Mr. Sovereign made a radical silver speech, and resolutions were adopted. In the evening ex-Congressman White, Mr. Bashor, and General Weaver were the chief speakers.[812]

These two conferences were parts of the same plan "to so shape events that the coming democratic state convention" would "name free silver men and thus take advantage of the non-partisan action."[813] The significance of the action was recognized by the conservative Democrats, such as the editor of *The Clinton Age*, who asked if the call for a "silver" convention was not premature. "Ought not the issues to be first decided in state convention, regularly called by the state committee?

. . . . There is certainly no cause yet for a bolt. There is nothing to bolt from." [814]

The Populist State Convention met at Des Moines a few days after the holding of the free silver conferences. About three hundred and sixty delegates were present out of four hundred and fifty-five chosen and very few counties were unrepresented. The first discussion was over party finances in connection with the appointment of a financial committee: it resulted from the statement that the party was one hundred and sixty-nine dollars in debt. A collection of silver was taken up, and with the assistance of General Weaver the financial problem was solved.

E. H. Gillette was made permanent chairman, and upon taking his place he delivered a short speech in which he referred to "this movement which began twenty years ago." [815]

The platform was adopted without discussion or amendment. It contained the usual statements about finance, declared for the initiative and referendum, demanded that "until such time as a government system of finances can be established, that all banking institutions, national, state and private, be required to give security to depositors for all moneys received for deposits", and further demanded "adequate legislation for the inspection of all workshops and factories where more than ten persons are employed". [816]

Nominations were made without contest and "the only trouble experienced was in getting enough men to take the nominations." Sylvanus Crane was named for Governor by acclamation; the other offices were filled after several declinations and sometimes by naming a person not present — as in the case of Railroad Com-

missioner. After the business had been transacted, Mr. L. Q. Hoggatt of Ames was introduced and gave "a witty address, telling a couple of good stories to illustrate his points." The evening session was entirely devoted to speech-making.[817]

A secret conference of Populist leaders, including General Weaver, Judge Cole, Thomas Meredith of the *Farmers' Tribune*, the candidate for Governor, and the chairman of the State committee (Anderson), was held at Des Moines during the last week in July to consider plans for fusion with the Democrats. The plan seems to have been to withdraw the Populist candidates for State offices in favor of the Democrats, and to arrange fusions in the legislative districts so as to control the next General Assembly in the interest of General Weaver as a candidate for United States Senator — Senator Allison's term would expire in 1897, and Senator Gear had been seriously ill so that there was a possibility of the election of two Senators in the near future. Judge Cole was also a prospective candidate under these circumstances. The scheme had been under consideration for four months and had been "carried into the non-partisan silver conference" and into the Populist State Convention. In addition to the persons present at the conference, Rev. S. H. Bashor, E. H. Gillette, and Mr. Belangee were engaged in working the scheme. Meredith, who was said to have put $25,000 into the Populist party, was financing the project.[818]

There was considerable opposition to the undertaking from middle-of-the-road Populists, as is shown by various rumors [819] afloat as to Weaver's relation with his party. Soon after the State convention he wrote the candidate for Governor assuring him of his support and stating

that reports printed in Chicago papers to the contrary were "absolutely false. There is but one difference of opinion within our party in this state or elsewhere . . . . and that relates to the method of securing a union of the reform elements for 1896, and there is ample time in which to review our present attitude and for calm reflection between now and the convention of next year." [820]

The Democratic State Convention held its sessions at Marshalltown on August 7th with over one thousand delegates in attendance. The gold men controlled the State committee, and the temporary chairman named by them made a formal attack upon free coinage, to which the silverites listened in silence. A test of the relative strength of the two factions came over the choice of a permanent chairman. Colonel C. H. Mackey of Sigourney nominated Ex-Lieutenant Governor Bestow in place of the nominee of the committee, who was a gold man. The vote was six hundred and sixty to four hundred and seventeen for the nominee of the committee. The presentation of the platform gave another opportunity for a test of the strength of the silver faction. A minority report in favor of free coinage was made by S. B. Evans of Ottumwa. Three silver advocates, including Ex-Congressman Fred E. White, made speeches, but the Anti-Silver men remained silent. The vote resulted in the rejection of the silver substitute by six hundred and fifty-one to four hundred and twenty. The gold Democrats had proven themselves safely in control and they proceeded to complete the business before the convention by the nomination of a gold man for Governor, Judge W. I. Babb, and for Lieutenant Governor, S. L. Bestow,[821] as a sop to the silver men, "who had been not only defeated,

but howled down. . . . It was suggested that Mr. Bestow might not be willing to accept, but no attention was paid to this. The nomination was forced upon him."

There was much dissatisfaction with the conduct and results of the convention because of the prominence of the federal office-holders in it. They were organized, while the silver men were "a mass of loose men filled to the ears with principles and sentiments". They were given a chance to talk, after which the machine "did business in the most approved way."[822]

The vote for Governor in November resulted as follows:[823] Republicans, 208,714; Democrats, 149,428; and People's, 32,189. Compared with the vote for Governor in 1893 there were the following results:[824] Republican increase, 1,893; Democratic decrease, 25,232; Populist increase, 8,209. Again, comparison with the vote for Secretary of State in 1894 gives the following figures:[825] Republican decrease, 20,662; Democratic decrease, 552; Populist decrease, 2,718.

The vote for the Populists reached a maximum in Iowa in 1894, as it did in the country as a whole. Its success was so great that it was bound to be absorbed by one of the older parties — the usual fate so far in the United States.

XXIII

THE CLIMAX OF POPULISM IN IOWA

In 1896 the one absorbing issue in Iowa, as well as in the United States at large, was the free coinage of silver. For two successive years the free silver Democrats had struggled for control of their State conventions, but had met with defeat through the superior organization of the gold Democrats led by the office-holders appointed by the national administration. The Populists had partly fused with the Democrats, but no complete union had been arranged. The year 1896 was to witness in State and nation an almost complete fusion of the two wings of the silver forces. The stages in the accomplishment of the result are the significant features of the year in Iowa.

The Populists held a State convention on April 22nd in Des Moines, to nominate delegates to the national convention which was to be held at St. Louis. "With the largest attendance in its history" [826] the convention met with only four counties unrepresented. The sessions were largely devoted to speech-making, and General J. S. Coxey of Ohio and Chairman H. E. Taubeneck of the national committee were present from outside the State. General Coxey and General Weaver, who was temporary chairman, made the principal addresses. A delegation of thirty members, headed by General Weaver, was chosen to go to St. Louis. The committee upon resolutions reported in favor of instructing the delegates "to do all in their power to secure a union of all reform

forces on a common ticket or a platform embodying the fundamental principles of the Omaha platform''. A minority report signed by three members of the committee omitted all reference to the ''union of reform forces''. Apparently the majority report made by seven members of the committee was accepted.[827]

It was apparent before the meeting of the Democratic convention that the silver wing would control. The secretary of the State committee used every means at his disposal to help them; the name of Horace Boies was put forward to advance the interests of free coinage. ''With less than ten per cent of the Democrats of the state expressing an opinion upon the subject the state will send a majority of silver delegates to the Chicago convention, and it may be that the Iowa vote will determine the character of the money plank in the national platform.'' [828]

The convention, which was described as ''the most turbulent'' in the history of the party in the State, met at Dubuque on May 20th. The silver element, as had been predicted, was in complete control. They allowed the State committee to name a gold man for temporary chairman, but that was their only concession. They selected the permanent chairman and he declared that Boies was named, unanimously, as delegate-at-large — although all the gold men, nearly a third of the convention, voted against him. A vote for the second delegate-at-large resulted in six hundred and forty-nine for the silver candidate and two hundred and eighty for the gold representative. The vote upon the platform, which endorsed the free coinage of silver was six hundred and eighty-four for and two hundred and twenty-eight against. The delegates to the national convention were instructed ''to vote as a unit as the majority present shall direct on all

questions coming before said National convention for settlement by vote of its delegates, and especially upon all questions relating to the adoption of a platform for the party, and the nomination of candidates for president and vice president". In addition the platform declared it to be "the bounden duty of every patriot in Iowa, without regard to former party affiliations, to use all honorable means to secure" the nomination of Horace Boies for President, and the delegates were "expressly authorized and instructed to place his name in nomination at Chicago."

Many times the convention became disorganized and it was feared it would break up with violence. The chairman appealed to the delegates for order, explaining that the good name of Democracy and of the State was threatened. A Dubuque man begged the delegates not to disgrace the city. "Howling and hissing were interspersed with abject pleadings from the chair for order and attention. . . . They hissed like snakes, howled like hyenas and roared like mad bulls. . . . It was pronounced by sober men as the most outrageous convention ever held in Iowa." [829]

The managers of the Boies campaign for the Presidency encountered the hostility of trades-unionists and the opposition of Governor Altgeld because of his speech on the labor troubles in 1894. As the Illinois Governor was the dictator in the State and national conventions the situation was a serious one for Boies.[830] Immediately before the opening of the national convention the supporters of Bland were circulating stories about "seventy-five petitions, with the signatures of 100,000 wage-workers", presented to Governor Altgeld in opposition to Governor Boies' nomination because of his speech in

reference to the Pullman strike. The gold men from Iowa were also active in spreading the opinion that Boies could not carry Iowa. Even without the appearance of a candidate like Bryan, the nomination of Boies seems to have been hardly a possibility in 1896.[831]

The remarkable character of the national convention has already been described, and there remains to be considered only the incidents connected with the presentation of the name of Ex-Governor Boies as a candidate for the presidential nomination. Under more normal conditions his chances for success might have been excellent for he had twice carried a strong Republican State for the Governorship, was a well-to-do farmer, was not a violent advocate of silver, and had the respect and liking of many men who did not endorse his views. His former Republican affiliations also strengthened him in some directions, while his attitude towards prohibition had gained support in other quarters. Such qualifications would have counted for much under other circumstances; but they amounted to very little in such a convention as that of 1896.

Congressman Bland of Missouri had been the leading candidate before the spectacular appearance of Mr. Bryan. He was the first to be put forward as a candidate and his nomination by Senator George G. Vest was followed by a demonstration that lasted for "fourteen minutes before" the chairman "attempted to check" it.

Ex-Congressman Fred White "placed Horace Boies in nomination. Mr. White, who looked like a plain farmer, proved to be a forcible speaker." As he began to speak a Boies banner was raised by the Iowa delegates. He caused a laugh by remarking that there "would be no sensational performance on the political trapeze while Horace Boies was in the White House." He was given

careful attention and there was no demonstration until he concluded. The Boies delegates cheered, but "the gallaries appeared cold. To a young woman in the south terrace belonged the honor of forcing a demonstration second only to that which followed the nomination of Bland. She was dressed in simple white. She mounted a chair and began waving a small American flag frantically to and fro. For fully a minute she was unobserved. Then some one noticed her. Eyes began to turn in her direction. She continued to wave the flag with rhythmic motion, crying as she did so: 'Boies, Boies, Boies!' The delegates got on their chairs, the galleries began to cheer and in another minute the Coliseum was aflame. . . . The Boies banner was carried from the pit up to the terrace to where the striking figure stood, like Joan of Arc, urging the nomination of Iowa's favorite son. The staff of the banner was placed in her hands and she swung it to and fro while the galleries yelled. Once she sank back exhausted by her efforts, and the din was subsiding. But, gathering her waning strength for a final effort, she sprang up again and once more seizing the banner she moved forward and was almost carried down the slope by the maddened crowd about her. Swiftly she went forward to the platform where the Iowa delegation came forward to meet her and escorted her with shouts to the place of the delegation. For fourteen minutes the demonstration led by the girl in white kept up. . . . The young woman who had led 25,000 people proved to be Miss Minnie Murray, of Nashua, Iowa. This incident reminded old convention goers of the great Blaine demonstration at Minneapolis." [832]

Boies received eighty-six votes upon the first ballot and stood fourth in order of number of votes. In addition

to the twenty-six votes of Iowa he received twenty-two from Alabama, four from California, one from Florida, five from Michigan, four from Minnesota, six from North Dakota, six from Utah, and one from the District of Columbia. On the second ballot he received thirty-seven votes and stood sixth. His vote remained about stationary during the next two ballots and on the fifth the convention swung to Bryan with a rush. Boies received sixteen votes upon the first ballot for Vice President.[833]

After the close of the convention Mr. Boies wrote Miss Murray, "the woman in white", a long letter in which he thanked her for her part "in the one episode in this most extraordinary of political conventions, which lifts Iowa Democracy into the light of day, and relieves it of the utter gloom in which it would have been left in spite of every effort of the most loyal of friends, had you not been present in that convention. For your heroism at the critical moment every Democrat in Iowa is supremely grateful". He explained the reasons for his defeat as three in number: (1) the "advocacy of the limitation of the legal tender power of silver"; (2) the "endorsement of Cleveland's action in sending troops to Chicago during the riot of 1894"; and (3) the "advocacy of the conditional free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, his plan including the fixing of some other ratio if 16 to 1 did not meet the expectations of its advocates." He summed up his faults: "Three times had I sinned, and this was more than could be forgiven."[834]

The revolt against the action of the Democratic National Convention among Iowa sound-money Democrats was more general in Davenport and Scott County than in any other part of Iowa. Leading German-Americans ever since the Dubuque convention had been publicly

declaring that they would not vote for a free silver candidate for President. Many announced their intention of voting for the Republican candidates.[835]

On the other hand, sound-money Democrats like the editor of *The Clinton Age* took the position that Bryan was "fairly nominated by a regularly appointed convention, and the average democrat can discover no good reason why he should not support him, especially as he agrees with him upon all points save one. The tendency to Bryan grows stronger each day, and in time the democrats all over the country will be well lined up for him."[836]

On August 4th a conference of gold Democrats was held at Des Moines to select delegates to attend a meeting at Indianapolis on August 7th to consider the advisability of calling another national Democratic convention. It was described as "quite largely attended, and by a class of men representing the best citizenship of the party in the state." Twenty-seven counties were represented by delegates: Des Moines, Lee, Henry, Louisa, Jefferson, Clinton, Johnson, Scott, Iowa, Dubuque, Black Hawk, Buchanan, Franklin, Cerro Gordo, Jones, Marshall, Lucas, Pottawattamie, Cass, Hamilton, Webster, Greene, Crawford, Cherokee, Woodbury, Dickinson, and Sioux. Of these seventeen were in the eastern part of the State and most of the remainder contained a city like Sioux City or Council Bluffs or large towns. Thus they represented either the older communities or the business interests in the newer portions of the State.

Judge John Cliggitt of Mason City was made chairman and gave the principal address in which he discussed the silver question at considerable length. He referred to

Tilden and Thurman and Cleveland as the inspiration of genuine Democracy, rather than Tillman and Altgeld and Bryan "who is willing to exchange free trade for the free coinage of silver." At the close of his remarks he referred to "his aged friend, Ed. Campbell", who was present, as being recognized as a Democrat twenty years ago "instead of being compelled to cool his heels in the corridor of neglect, as had been the case at Chicago last month." Resolutions were adopted endorsing the administration of President Cleveland, favoring a new Democratic convention, and providing for representation at the Indianapolis conference. A provisional State committee was selected to act for the sound-money Democrats and to call a State convention, if necessary, to choose delegates and nominate State and congressional tickets.[837]

The regular Democratic convention met at Ottumwa on August 12th to nominate State and electoral tickets. It endorsed the action of the Chicago convention and named tickets made up of Democrats, Populists, and Silverites. A complete fusion was provided for in the congressional districts. The division of candidates was as follows: the Democrats got nine Congressmen, one Elector-at-large, and five State officers; the Populists got one Congressman, one Elector-at-large, and one State officer; and the silver non-partisans got one Congressman and one State officer. Horace Boies and General Weaver were nominated as Electors-at-large. General Weaver was the author of the plan of complete fusion of Democrats and Populists and he was the "hero" and "dictator" of the convention. After the business had been completed, he was called for and made a speech in which he referred to

the Chicago convention as "a political miracle". With the Populists and free silver Republicans the entire attendance was not over six hundred.[838]

The Clinton Age described "everything" at the convention as passing off "pleasantly and without friction. The candidates were unanimously agreed upon and will be supported by all the voters in the state who favor the election of Mr. Bryan. The impression in circles possessing a reasonable amount of knowledge upon the subject, is that the Ottumwa ticket will be elected from top to bottom." [839]

The gold Democrats met in convention at Des Moines on August 26th and unanimously declared against the free coinage of silver, selected delegates to a national convention and chose presidential electors. Seven hundred "representative business men" from ninety-three counties were in attendance. "It was an enthusiastic convention. . . . There were no controversies; everything was harmonious. Personal glory was made subservient to the welfare of the party, and with the same spirit that brought them here they transacted what they had to do." Judge W. I. Babb was permanent chairman and delivered a long speech. W. W. Witmer and J. E. E. Markley were named as Electors-at-large — the latter after Judge John Cliggitt had declined the honor.[840]

The Populist State Convention met at Des Moines on September 10th and endorsed the entire ticket nominated by the Democrats at Ottumwa on August 12th. W. H. Robb, "the omniscient Weaver . . . . and many others of the bewhiskered veterans of the political aggregation of calamity howlers who have had infinite hope in the face of continual and discouraging defeat, were there, and of course they all inflicted their never tiring chin

music upon the assembled multitude of long suffering patriots who, from frequent punishment, have become calloused to misery that would drive less hardened people to a life of dissipation or an untimely tomb.'' The resolutions congratulated ''the Populists of Iowa and the people of the whole country upon the fact that we have at last compelled the adversaries of equal rights to join issues with the producers of wealth. . . . The breaking down of the lines of bitter partisanship, we hail as additional evidence of the capacity of the people for free government, and the exalted patriotism of the masses.'' The resolutions and endorsement of candidates were adopted unanimously.[841]

Professor Macy of Grinnell described the campaign in the State as ''characterized by earnest and sincere discussion of one issue — viz., the free coinage of silver. There are no processions, few brass bands, and little noise; but there is intense and unusual interest in the debate. Men and women sit for hours listening to a presentation of facts and statistics. Political meetings are numerous and large, yet they constitute the smallest part of the discussion. Wherever men meet in shop or by the way they engage in financial discussion. Old party lines and former issues are in large part ignored. Early in the campaign Republican speakers were disposed to give prominence to the tariff question, but this feature has largely disappeared. A few Republicans are working for the election of Mr. Bryan; while no class is laboring more earnestly for his defeat than are the gold standard Democrats. Each party seeks to convince the voter that dire disaster is impending in case of the success of their opponents. The silver party makes much of 'the crime of '73', and kindred crimes in the Old World.'' [842]

Dr. Newell D. Hillis, a native Iowan but then located in Chicago, lectured during the summer in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, and gave a very interesting account of a meeting of farmers in a country schoolhouse in Iowa. "The chief feature of the speaker's address", he observes, "was his charts. Upon one end of a blackboard was written an estimate of the number of millions of bushels of oats raised this year by the farmers of Iowa, and a further estimate of the value of the crop at the market price of 13 cents a bushel. The Populist portrayed the farmer working like a slave through eight months of the year to produce this 13-cent bushel of oats, while the railway in a single day and night hauled the grain to Chicago, where it receives 7 of the 13 cents as its recompense. Now the first cent of the seven extorted will, urged the orator, take away all hope of the farmer paying the interest on his mortgage; the second cent will take from wife or daughter woolen dress warm against the winter; the third will take the boy and girl out of school and college and condemn them to the drudgery of the farmhand or housemaid; the fourth cent will take away all possibility of purchasing the review, the newspaper, the book, and drive men back to barbarism. When the orator reached this point in his discussion the audience was inflamed to the highest point. At that moment self-interest and prejudice armed his listeners against all arguments for sound money. Had the Republican committee been there when the assembly dispersed to present each farmer with a library devoted to the exposure of the silver heresy, even the multitude of books would not have availed for reversing the farmer's judgment or convincing him that the gold standard is not

responsible for his misfortunes, or that free silver is not the unfailing panacea for all his ills." [843]

His conclusion was that the East did "not fully understand either the strength of the silver sentiment or the methods and arguments" by which it was being advanced. A new kind of campaign of education was needed to meet the unusual conditions.[844]

Reference has already been made to *Coin's Financial School* and its influence in the national campaign. *The Clinton Age* gave a very suggestive description of a meeting held at Clinton in October by the author, W. H. Harvey. When it is remembered that the editor was opposed to the committal of the Democratic party to free silver, his opinion becomes even more striking. His account speaks of the meeting as "something singularly impressive and at times dramatically affecting . . . . the opera house was filled almost to the ceiling with as intelligent an assemblage of people as ever met at one time at any place in this city. . . . It was an audience anxious to hear the facts stated by one presumed to know them. . . . No man ever addressed a more magnificent audience for three hours than did Mr. Harvey on Monday night, and we do not believe a man ever before in one meeting convinced so many who were in doubt. His sledge hammer logic was irresistible. . . . It was a meeting that will never be forgotten in Clinton. Judged by everything that constitutes a successful political meeting it was the grandest of successes." [845]

Conflicting views in regard to the outcome of the election appearing in October throw light upon the political situation. *The Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington described the campaign "viewed as an educative

force'' as ''one of the most wonderful and enlightening that the world has ever experienced.'' In another editorial the same paper referred to ''the end of the most sinister contest ever waged in American politics. Mr. Bryan and his followers have fought the campaign with but two issues — free silver and class hostility — and early in the fight it appeared as if they might have ground for hope. But that chance passed weeks ago . . . . A long farewell to Altgeld, Tillman, Vest, Bland, and the whole coterie of unbalanced agitators who only come to the surface when there is a chance to breed disturbances.'' [846]

At about the same time *The Clinton Age* printed news items from Chicago that declared ''the McKinley goldbug combine is on the run. Its leaders admit as much, while the leaders of the free silver party are growing more and more confident . . . . From Iowa come reports that the democrats will sweep nearly every county in the central and western portions of the state.'' [847]

A few days later the same paper printed another estimate from Chicago that stated that ''the republican managers have become so badly frightened over Iowa that they have . . . . been compelled within the past three days to place several hundred thousands of dollars in that state . . . . It is known positively at national democratic headquarters that the last republican poll of Iowa gave that state to Bryan . . . . This explains the solicitude for Iowa . . . . The poll shows a republican defection for Bryan in every county in the state . . . . The banner Republican counties in the state are those most seriously affected, and they will go for Bryan.'' [848]

In November the election of Electors-at-large resulted

as follows:[849] Republican, 289,293 and 289,057; Democratic, 223,741 and 223,447. The Republican plurality was 65,552. The gold Democratic vote was 4,516 and 4,519. Compared with 1892 when the vote was distributed as follows: Republican, 219,795; Democratic, 196,367; and Populist, 20,595; total, 216,962 — a plurality of only 2,833, the Republican vote increased 69,498. The combined Democratic and Populist vote advanced only 6,779. The "sound money" Democrats claimed that 40,000 to 50,000 Democrats voted for McKinley.[850]

There were fusion candidates in all the congressional districts, except in the second where the Populists had a separate candidate who polled only 639 votes, and in the third where the contest was between Republicans and Democrats. The heaviest fusion vote was in the four western districts and ranged from 23,956 to 22,522. The total Republican vote in the eleven districts was 287,951; the total fusion and Democratic vote was 226,245.[851]

The Clinton Age estimated that about one-fourth of the fusion vote was cast by the Populists.[852] On such a basis that vote amounted to upwards of 50,000. The vote of the party from its formation in 1891 to 1896 based upon the head of the ticket was as follows:

1891	For Governor	12,303
1892	For Elector at Large	20,595
1893	For Governor	23,980
1894	For Secretary of State	34,907
1895	For Governor	32,189
1896	Estimated vote	50,000

Probably the year 1896 witnessed the climax of the strength of the Populist party in Iowa; but an estimate based upon number of votes is only a partial and superficial method of judging its actual influence. The merger

with the Democratic party was the contemporary political manner of measuring its importance. Since that union social politics has had its recognized place in the older parties.

A conservative Democratic view of the results declared that "bimetallism by this country alone, has been beaten under circumstances exceedingly favorable to that policy . . . . The fight was skilfully and ably managed on the part of the reformers. It seemed as though Providence had provided the proper man to lead the agitators. No man could have led with greater power or more marked effect than did he . . . . It is defeated by a popular vote of the people. We believe that bimetallism has been given an impetus and force that will lead to its adoption by an international congress . . . . The incomparable struggle of 1896 will hurry the calling of that congress and judging from the expression in high quarters of opinions in foreign countries during the campaign, bimetallism is either likely to be adopted before another presidential election, or such advanced steps taken in its adoption by the world that it would not be made a leading issue in the campaign." [853]

A different view was expressed by Republicans who concluded that "the recent election established the fact that the majority of prosperous and industrious Iowa people are not in sympathy with the Populist plan to debase and cheapen the currency. The leaders of the Silver movement realize that to enlist a respectable following in Iowa there will be needed years of downright hard work on the part of a respectable advocacy in forum and press." [854]

More partisan, but with discrimination, *The Iowa State Register* declared that "when the history of this cam-

paign is written it will be recorded there that in 1896 for the first time in the history of American politics an attempt was made to array the masses against the classes, the rich against the poor, the 'common people' against the corporations and against all forms of wealth and success. But best of it all it will be recorded there that the American people, recognizing no classes, gave an overwhelming verdict against those who had made such ignoble appeals." [855]

General Weaver was the outstanding figure in the Populist movement in Iowa and was probably the best equipped leader in the national organization as judged by ability and experience in public life. He dominated the party in his own State, planned fusions with the Democrats, and was himself a candidate for Congress and for the United States Senate. His great aim was to unite all the forces of reform and opposition into one compact organization. He failed in his immediate object, but he laid the foundation for later progress.

Associated with him from Greenback party days was E. H. Gillette, Congressman for the Des Moines district 1879 to 1881, candidate for various offices thereafter, chairman of State conventions, and delegate to national conventions.

Another name of importance was that of J. R. Sovereign of Atlantic, head of the State Assembly of the Knights of Labor, Labor Commissioner, and the successor in 1893 of T. V. Powderly as Grand Master Workman of the national organization of the Knights of Labor. He was a Democrat who allied himself with the Populists on account of his free silver and radical views.

Mr. A. J. Westfall came into prominence through his

remarkable campaign in the eleventh district in 1890 which led to the organization of the People's party in Iowa and his nomination for Governor in 1891. He was a typical representative of the substantial farmer become a Populist through economic pressure. He was a man of ability and of considerable wealth.

Mr. M. L. Wheat of Colfax was another recruit from the ranks of organized labor, who had been head of the first district assembly of the Knights of Labor of Iowa, which later reorganized as the State assembly. He was also a member of the national board of labor officials under Powderly. His selection to present General Weaver as a candidate for President to the Populist convention at St. Louis in 1892 was an indication of his recognized ability as a speaker. *The Iowa State Register* referred to him as "the colossal K. of L. fraud." [856]

Mr. W. H. Robb was the editor of the *Independent American* of Creston, and one of the minor leaders grouped around Weaver and Gillette. *The Iowa State Register* described him as always preparing the party platforms.[857]

Mr. W. H. Calhoun of Marshalltown was another of the lesser lights of Populism, a candidate for Congress and chairman of State conventions at different times. He was characterized by *The Iowa State Register* as "a howler ever since 1876, and consequently is about perfect." [858]

Judge C. C. Cole of Des Moines was the most distinguished of the men who left the Republican party to join the Populists. He was several times a candidate between 1892 and 1896, and it was rumored that his ambition was to become United States Senator. He was par-

ticularly active in the different organizations working for the free coinage of silver.

Of those who had been active in the Greenback party, in addition to those already mentioned, L. H. Weller of Nashua was the most influential after Weaver and Gillette. Like these men he had been Congressman, serving from 1883 to 1885. Leonard Brown of Des Moines and L. Q. Hoggatt of Ames, then a very old man, were other survivors from the earlier party.

Mr. J. M. Joseph of Creston, candidate for Governor in 1893, and Sylvanus B. Crane of Scott County, candidate for Governor in 1895, were other minor leaders who represented the party in various capacities.

The names by which some of the leading Populists were known in the newspapers of the day illustrate the contemptuous attitude assumed by the strict partisans who then included the larger portion of the community. Political independence was still too rare for popular appreciation and politicians had not yet begun to consider it seriously. General Weaver was referred to as "Jumping Jim"; Gillette as "Heifer Calf"; Weller as "Calamity"; Wheat as the "Jasper County Windbag". A minor leader was known as "Sub-Squirt". "Kansas lice" was a collective name for the Populists.

There is probably little need of emphasizing the real contribution of Populism to the present political situation. That we use the term "social politics" to describe party activities illustrates how far we have gone along the road to the recognition of the social and economic factors that underlie our political life. To the despised People's party of the early nineties we owe much of the impulse toward subsequent social reform.

PART V
THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT

XXIV

THE PIONEER PROGRESSIVES: BRYAN AND LA FOLLETTE

After 1896 Mr. Bryan was almost the undisputed leader of the Democratic party. The gold Democrats, as a distinct organization, disappeared and only a conservative opposition continued in the East. The accidental issue of 1896 gave Mr. Bryan his opportunity, but his retention of leadership for nearly twenty years has shown his possession of something more than mere oratorical ability.

In 1900 he was again the candidate of his party for President. The Spanish War had occurred and had given rise to the issue of imperialism. Opposition to the trusts was made a second great issue and free coinage of silver was reasserted. The campaign was devoid of the sensational aspects of 1896. Mr. Bryan made "one statesmanlike speech" at Indianapolis in August, but afterwards the campaign "degenerated into a mere trial of endurance between himself and the talking candidate of the other side [Mr. Roosevelt], the telegraph day by day recording the number of speeches made by each. A less inspiring competition could hardly be imagined; and, as the papers, in flaring, modern-time headlines, declared that Mr. Roosevelt had the previous day broken all records by making eighteen speeches, they went on gravely to announce that Mr. Bryan had arranged a programme for the morrow under which he would 'see' his opponent and 'go him two better', orating to a square score of distinct audiences between 10 a. m. and midnight." [859]

The return of prosperity made people less inclined to change; the annexation of the Philippines seemed the inevitable outcome of the war with Spain; and the urgency of currency reform was much less apparent than it had been in 1896. The result was a gain for the Republicans and a loss for the Democrats. The popular vote for McKinley was 7,219,530, a gain of 183,892; while for Bryan it was 6,358,071, a loss of 109,875. Bryan gained Kentucky, but lost Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.[860]

The election of 1900 was a reflection of that of 1896, with an entirely new background. "There was no sufficient practical reason why the great Democratic party, in its convention at Kansas City, should have declared again for the immediate free coinage of silver. Labeling something else the 'paramount issue' could not atone for the mistake of forcing the silver question again upon the country at so inappropriate a time. As for 'imperialism' . . . . [it was] not accepted by the country" as a party question. "The war with Spain had been due to the action of Democrats no less than to that of Republicans, and there had been no distinction of party lines in the public sentiment which was responsible for each succeeding step." [861]

Bryan refused to be a candidate in 1904, leaving to the conservative eastern Democrats the choice of a party leader. The two leading candidates for the Democratic nomination were Judge Alton B. Parker of New York and William R. Hearst, the newspaper publisher, representing respectively the conservative and radical wings of the party. Mr. Bryan exercised no influence upon the choice of candidates, although it was understood that he did not approve of either of the men. Parker represented the

anti-silver wing of the party, while Hearst's candidacy was based chiefly upon his great wealth and his ownership of a number of newspapers.

In the convention, according to the testimony of prejudiced and partisan observers, Bryan was "the most influential and effective figure", and he compelled a revision of the platform after it had been completed and given to the press for publication. He changed the tariff and trust planks and "compromised" the gold plank out of the platform.[862] Judge Parker's telegram in regard to the gold plank, after his nomination, made the conservative character of his candidacy perfectly clear, and also weakened it by making support of it more difficult in those sections where silver sentiment had been strongest.

The election results showed conclusively that the radicals were stronger than the conservatives in their appeal to popular support, and consequently confirmed Bryan as unquestioned leader of his party — from 1904 to 1912 no other man disputed his leadership. The popular vote for Roosevelt was 7,628,834, a gain of 409,304 votes; while for Parker it was only 5,084,491, a loss of 1,273,580 from Bryan's vote of 1900. Parker carried Maryland which voted against Bryan in 1900, but lost the States of Colorado, Idaho, Missouri, Montana, and Nevada which had supported him in 1900.[863] The remarkable personal popularity of President Roosevelt and his progressive leadership undoubtedly tended to make the conservative character of the Democratic candidate more pronounced. It emphasized anew the fact that American politics were more and more social politics and that since 1896 any return to earlier conditions was impossible.

During the interval between the campaigns of 1904 and 1908, Mr. Bryan made a tour around the world,

reaching New York on his return late in August, 1906. A remarkable feature of his home-coming was the fact "that all elements and factions of the Democratic party" were "in full agreement" that he was to be nominated for President a third time in 1908. "In 1896 and again in 1900, a great number of the most conspicuous and influential leaders of the Democratic party not only opposed Mr. Bryan's nomination, but openly refused to support him, and either committed themselves to an independent ticket or else went the whole length and supported McKinley. Yet at this time . . . . most of these anti-Bryan leaders have fallen into line and are loudly proclaiming their allegiance to the 'Great Commoner'." A great reception was given him at Madison Square Garden where he made a speech which was expected to sound the keynote of the approaching campaign of 1906 and prepare the way for that of 1908.[864]

His address contained three references to "Democratic policy" which are worthy of careful attention. In the first place, he admitted that the question of bimetallism was a dead issue. "The unlooked-for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold has brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetallism — the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they contended. We who favor bimetallism are satisfied with our victory if the friends of monometallism are satisfied with theirs."

Secondly, he declared trust legislation and policy "to be the paramount political issue. He congratulated President Roosevelt upon his attempts to enforce the anti-trust laws", and expressed the opinion that "extermina-

tion of the monopoly principle should be the end in view." He thought that new laws were needed and that "such new legislation should include the forbidding of campaign contributions from corporations, and should make it illegal for the same man to act as director or officer of two corporations; while a still more far-reaching remedy would be to require corporations to take out a Federal license before doing inter-State business."

In the third place, his declaration in regard to government ownership of railroads aroused more attention than anything else in his address and was regarded at the time as "the most significant of his utterances". He had reached the conclusion that railroads "must ultimately become public property and be managed by public officials in the interest of the whole community, in accordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible." He did not know that the country was ready for such a change and he did not know that a majority of his own party favored it. To avoid centralization that would destroy State lines, he proposed that "only the trunk lines" should be "operated by the Federal Government, and the local lines by the several State Governments." Investigation in Europe had convinced him that such dual ownership was entirely practicable, and there could be no question of the right of federal and State governments to own and operate railroads.[865]

The proposal of government ownership of railroads produced considerable discussion at the time, but the country was not ready for the innovation and Bryan himself did not urge it strongly. It was put forth tentatively, and as the response was not favorable, it was allowed to slumber. Experience with regulation of rail-

roads has brought us eight years later to the point where a thoughtful journal like *The New Republic* can declare that "the country is plainly drifting towards public ownership without being sufficiently aware of the fact." [866]

When the great national conventions met in the summer of 1908, "it had been practically certain for two years that the Republicans would nominate Taft and that the Democrats would nominate Bryan. As the time for the holding of the conventions approached, the well-informed were aware that more than the necessary majority of delegates were pledged in advance to Taft, and that more than the requisite two-thirds of the Democratic delegates were instructed for Bryan or else had so declared themselves." [867] President Roosevelt had eliminated himself as a candidate at the time of his election in 1904, and Secretary Taft was known to be his choice as his successor. The real party platform of the Republicans in 1908 consisted of the achievements of the Roosevelt administration — the so-called "Roosevelt policies".

The Democratic platform adopted at Denver in July began by declaring that the government was in the "grip of those who have made it a business asset of the favor-seeking corporations", while other preliminary paragraphs referred to the "frightful extravagance" of the government and "the absolute domination of the Speaker" of the House of Representatives. The real platform started out "with elaborate statements on the subject of campaign publicity", and then demanded immediate reduction of import duties. The plank on the control of railroads contained nothing at variance with the policy of the Republican administration, and was "diametrically opposed to the railroad policy advocated by Mr. Bryan on his return from Europe." The only noteworthy finan-

cial proposal was that favoring "the guarantee of bank deposits as a means of preventing distrust in times of panic".[868]

Issues were not clearly defined [869] in 1908. Both parties appealed through their candidates and platforms to the progressive sentiment of the country. President Roosevelt's great popular endorsement in 1904, and the failure of the Parker candidacy the same year, had convinced the politicians that there was no political salvation except in the acceptance, outwardly at least, of the popular demands. Under such conditions the advantage was with the party in power which could point to actual accomplishments rather than with the opposition which had only promises to offer.

The popular vote for Taft was 7,679,006, a gain of 50,172 over that for Roosevelt in 1904, while for Bryan it was 6,409,106, a gain of 1,324,615 in excess of the vote for Parker in 1904.[870] The increase was a notable one and indicated very clearly Bryan's great popular strength. At the same time, the vote of 1908 was smaller by over 50,000 than that cast for him in the bitterly contested election of 1896. What explanation can be offered for such a result of twelve years' campaigning under circumstances that seem to indicate increased and confidential support by his own party and greater respect on the part of the public generally? [871]

One explanation is to be found in the fact that Bryan was no longer the one great tribune of the people as he had been in 1896. President Roosevelt, accused of appropriating many of his demands, had carried his own party far on the road into which the Bryan of 1896 had been the pioneer leader. The progressive sentiment was divided between two candidates in 1908, while in 1896 it

had been drawn to Bryan by his dramatic appearance as a popular leader. The "New Bryan" [872] of 1908 was a stronger and more experienced leader than he had been in 1896, but the mature man of forty-eight had lost some of the magnetism of youthfulness and was no longer the sole advocate of reform.

Another answer is reached through an analysis of his policies and a consideration of his qualities as a leader. In the opinion of Dr. Lyman Abbott, "Mr. Bryan has many qualities which fit him for a popular leader. . . . But these qualities alone do not make a great statesman. They make a preacher, a lecturer, a moral reformer, perhaps a legislator. But a statesman must have other qualities . . . . Has Mr. Bryan these qualities? So far he has not manifested them. He appears to me to belong rather to the oratorical than to the executive type; to be an O'Connell rather than a Parnell, a Patrick Henry rather than an Alexander Hamilton, a Wendell Phillips rather than an Abraham Lincoln." [873]

Again in 1912 as in 1904 Mr. Bryan refused to be a candidate, leaving the party to choose a new leader. The break in the Republican ranks due to the conflict between President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt made the prospect of success better than at any time since 1892. The events at the Baltimore Democratic convention are as yet too close for discriminating analysis. It is probably safe to declare that Mr. Bryan's part in it will rank with his speech at Chicago in 1896 as an instance of his remarkable ability as a speaker and as a political leader. More than any other one man or influence, he was responsible for the nomination of Woodrow Wilson for President — a result which practically assured his election because of the presence of a third candidate. Noth-

ing like the successive episodes in Mr. Bryan's career — in 1896, 1904, 1906, 1908, and 1912 — are to be found anywhere in history. His place and power are absolutely unique. His place in the present administration was the inevitable result of his position as the unrivalled leader of his party. His place in history as the first great leader in the Progressive Democracy of the last twenty years is now fully recognized by opponents as well as by friends.

And yet when we come to examine the election results in 1912, the return of the Democrats to power appears to have been due, not to the final triumph of the principles for which the party had been contending under Bryan's leadership, but to the divisions in the Republican party. The popular vote for Wilson was 6,286,214, less by 122,892 than that cast for Bryan in 1908, and also less by 181,732 than the vote for Bryan in 1896. The combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt was 7,609,942, showing a falling-off of only 69,064 from the Republican vote of 1908.[874] Hence the history of the Democratic party since 1896, although it has led to its complete control of the federal government, has been described as "The Decline of the Democratic Party" by a recent writer.[875]

The percentage of the total popular vote cast for the Republicans and Democrats in each presidential election from 1896 to 1912 is as follows:[876]

YEAR	REPUBLICAN		DEMOCRATIC
In 1896	50.9		46.8
In 1900	51.7		45.5
In 1904	56.4		37.6
In 1908	51.6		43.1
In 1912	50.5	23.1 — Taft 27.4 — Roosevelt	41.8

Although in possession of the national government the

Democratic party controls slightly less than forty-two percent of the total popular vote, while in 1896 forty-seven percent was given to its candidate for the Presidency.

The larger portion of the Populists became Democrats after 1896, leaving only a remnant of extremists to continue separate party organizations. The Populists who had voted for Watson in 1896 were called "Middle-of-the-Road" Populists and they were strongest in the South, where any alliance with the Democrats was difficult to arrange; but a minority in the North also opposed the complete merger with the Democrats. In 1900 the regular or fusionist wing of the party met at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in May and nominated Bryan for President and Charles A. Towne for Vice President. Later Mr. Towne withdrew and for him the executive committee substituted Adlai E. Stevenson, the regular Democratic candidate. While the regular Populists were in session the Middle-of-the-Roaders met at Cincinnati and nominated Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania for President and Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota for Vice President. The platform described the free coinage of silver as merely a temporary "expedient until a system providing for a 'scientific and absolute paper money' could be secured." [877]

In November the popular vote for the Middle-of-the-Road Populists amounted to 50,232. The States contributing more than one thousand votes were as follows: Texas, 20,981; Georgia, 4584; Missouri, 4244; Alabama, 4178; Kentucky, 2017; Mississippi, 1644; Tennessee, 1322; and Florida, 1070. A total of 40,040 votes came from these States, four-fifths of the entire amount. The only

other States contributing one thousand votes were Indiana, Illinois, and Nebraska.[878] Plainly the bulk of the strength of the faction was in the South.

The refusal of Bryan to be a candidate in 1904 prepared the way for the reunion of the two branches of the Populist party. At a meeting at St. Louis on February 22, 1903, "it was decided to dissolve the alliance with the Democratic party and nominate an independent party ticket." A nominating convention was held at Springfield, Illinois, on July 4, 1904, and Thomas E. Watson of Georgia was nominated for President and Thomas H. Tibbles of Nebraska for Vice President.[879]

The Populist vote in November was only 114,753 — of which Georgia and Nebraska contributed 22,635 and 20,518 respectively. The other States where as many as five thousand votes were cast were Texas, 8062, New York, 7459, Illinois, 6725, Kansas, 6253, and Alabama, 5051.[880] The conservative reaction in the Democratic party more than doubled the Populist vote, but the real strength had gone to that party in 1896 and could not be withdrawn.

In 1908 Watson was again the candidate for President, while the vice presidential nomination went to Samuel W. Williams of Indiana.[881] Only 28,131 votes were polled by these candidates, nearly 17,000 of which came from Georgia. The other States casting more than one thousand votes were Florida, 1946; Alabama, 1568; Mississippi, 1276; Indiana, 1193; Missouri, 1165; Tennessee, 1081; and Arkansas, 1026.[882]

In 1912 the national convention was held at St. Louis in August, but no nominations were made. Only about one hundred delegates were present, and they were di-

vided on the question of whether to endorse Roosevelt or Wilson. Merely a handful of members remained of a party which in 1892 had cast over one million votes.[883]

Robert M. La Follette was "the first among the Republican political leaders to comprehend the character of the irrepressible conflict within the party, between public interests and the present day organization of private business", according to the opinion of Senator Jonathan P. Dolliver expressed in a speech in Wisconsin a few weeks before his death in 1910.[884] La Follette began his reform work in 1894. In 1896 and 1898 he lost the Republican nomination for Governor, after entering the conventions with enough delegates instructed and pledged to vote for him, because the delegates were lured away by money and promises of place by the party machine. His experience led him to study out some substitute for the convention and caucus by which nominations might be made directly by the people.

Finally, he won the nomination in 1900 and was elected that year and reëlected in 1902 and 1904. His chief reform measures, in addition to the direct primary, were laws by which the railroads were to be compelled to pay their proper share of taxes, and by which they were to be regulated by a commission in the interest of the people of the State, rather than for the benefit of corporations and big business. All three of these laws he succeeded in placing upon the statute books in the face of bitter opposition during the years from 1903 to 1905. He was elected United States Senator in January, 1905, but did not take his seat until January, 1906, after his program for Wisconsin had been completed. He was reëlected in 1911.[885]

When he entered the Senate he was alone in that body as the representative of a new movement in the Republican party which had "its beginning in a desire to take party control away from men who, as parts of the managing organization . . . . maintained a close corporation in manipulation of party affairs and in distribution of rewards, and were too intimate with and subservient to railroad companies and other capitalistic combinations. It rapidly spread to agitation against the corporations themselves, chiefly railroads. . . . In short, it is a movement to emancipate the party from the domination of the established 'system', and to make the party more directly responsive to the popular will."

At first La Follette was ignored by the older members of the Senate, but he forced them to recognize him by refusing to be suppressed. He broke traditions by speaking a score of times before the end of his first session as a Senator. His place in the Senate was made, however, by a speech on the railroad rate bill of 1906 which revised the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission. He knew the railroad problem thoroughly, having studied it for years; and when Senators "tried to haze him by emptying the chamber", he paused to say that he could not be indifferent to the want of interest in what he had to present, but that the public was interested, and if the question was not "rightly settled, seats now temporarily vacant may be permanently vacated by those who have the right to occupy them at this time."

In 1909 he was one of the small group of Republican Senators who refused to vote for the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, which was one of the chief causes for the formation of an Insurgent faction in that party, and which finally resulted in the division of 1912. No longer alone

in the Senate, he had been joined by Senators Dolliver, Beveridge, and Clapp, who were in the Senate when he came; by Dixon and Bourne who entered in 1907; by Borah and Cummins in 1908; and by Bristow in 1909.[886]

In 1904 Governor La Follette and his supporters controlled the State committee in Wisconsin and dominated the State convention. "Each faction had nearly one-half of the delegates without dispute. There were contested seats of sufficient number to make the control of the convention depend upon the settlement of the contests." These contests were all settled in favor of La Follette, and his opponents led by the two United States Senators, Spooner and Quarles, withdrew and named delegates to the Republican convention. Contesting delegations, therefore, appeared at Chicago, and the national committee by unanimous vote seated the Spooner-Quarles delegates, excluding La Follette and his associates.[887]

In 1908 La Follette was in complete control in Wisconsin and the delegation from that State came to the national convention to present him as a candidate for President and "had prepared in advance a strong platform, ably written, going into much greater detail as respects railroad regulation, trusts, and some other economic and political questions than the platform favored by the majority. This platform was brought before the convention as a minority report by Congressman Cooper, of Wisconsin, and several of its proposals were made the subjects of separate roll calls in the convention. One of the demands thus voted on was that of publicity for campaign contributions; another was that calling for a physical valuation of railroad properties as a basis for the fixing of just rates, and another was that for the direct election

of United States Senators. A good many delegates from other States than Wisconsin recorded their votes for one or another of these propositions. . . . Wisconsin was strongly represented in the convention, and the speeches made in presenting the name of Mr. La Follette for President were among the best of all those the convention heard." [888]

A demonstration, lasting twenty-three minutes, following the speeches presenting Mr. La Follette as a candidate, was interpreted by an experienced Massachusetts Congressman as meaning "that the western country wanted more hot stuff in the way of public regulation and corporate supervision than yet had been served to it; that the appetite had grown by what it had fed on, until a surprisingly large number of the onlookers . . . . welcomed the La Follette idea. Another congressman . . . . from the west, declared that this showed the hand of Chautauqua and that the east had overlooked the importance of the Chautauqua movement. For years La Follette and Champ Clark and Tillman and Dolliver and all the other glib-tongued speakers holding progressive views have been addressing Chautauqua audiences, telling of their new and popular reforms, until they have built up an amount of public sentiment which it is hard to gauge. La Follette had absolutely no means of doing anything with that convention . . . . no tickets were distributed by him and no claquers were stationed in the galleries. He could create no artificial sentiment in his favor. But he has become a great hero of the Chautauqua circles and similar aggregations of earnest people in this great valley . . . . the demonstration in behalf of La Follette, following the rejection with such

emphasis of the three planks on which his followers asked a roll call, give[s] an extremely valuable hint'' of the trend of public opinion.[889]

Senator La Follette's program and his accomplishments and those of his associates have come to be known as the Wisconsin Idea, and that State is pointed out as the ideal type of a progressive democratic Commonwealth — it is regarded as embodying in a peculiarly successful way the purposes and objects of the Progressive movement. It is therefore of interest to examine the sources of its success.

Wisconsin was settled by Germans who came fresh from the revolutionary struggles of 1848 in Europe. They were reinforced later by Norwegians and New Englanders. All of these elements have been characterized by a persistent love for liberty and orderly government, and by high educational ideals. Under such influences the University of Wisconsin was founded and among its first regents was Carl Schurz. One of its great presidents was John Bascom, a graduate of Williams College and Andover Theological Seminary, who served from 1874 to 1887 and whose class room work in those years was most potent in its influence upon the future of the State. ''In his classes were men like Senator Robert M. La Follette, Judge Robert G. Siebecker of the Wisconsin supreme court, and Charles R. Van Hise, now president of the University of Wisconsin.''

President Bascom declared ''that, while the laws of legitimate acquisition look to the good of all, and not to the plunder of any, any illegitimate action which violates a higher, a moral law, will usually violate a lower, an economic law, and measure the gains of one by the losses of another. There is a harmony of pro-

ductive action by which the gains of all are secured, and the laws of this harmony are those of Political Economy. . . . The state of highest production not only may be, but must be, the state of highest intelligence and virtue; and the highest intelligence and virtue cannot fail to be productive of the greatest wealth."

The same philosophy which President Bascom was teaching at the University of Wisconsin was also "becoming the dominating influence in Germany. . . . The belief that it pays the state to concern itself in the betterment of human beings and the protection of human welfare, in order that it may receive in return a rich reward from this investment". While this theory of economics, with its practical applications, was developing in Germany and Wisconsin, other economic and political principles had held sway in England and had been transplanted to the United States. The philosophy of *laissez faire*, advocated by Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, appealed to the American spirit and "found its way into our law and into the teachings of our professors." Under such an able and inspiring teacher as Professor William G. Sumner of Yale these views were widely disseminated in the eastern part of the country at the same time that President Bascom was laying the foundations for the opposing doctrine which did not take definite form in practical ways until a later time.

While these conditions existed "a student left Columbia university and went to Germany to study under Carl Knies and Wagner; there he absorbed the inspiration of New Germany . . . . Imbued with inspiration by these great teachers, this young man returned to America . . . . Finally, after many vicissitudes, he became an instructor at Johns Hopkins university. Grad-

ually the country began to understand that a new teacher had appeared in America . . . . A group of thinkers began to follow the leadership of this man. Richard T. Ely finally came [1892] to the University of Wisconsin as a professor of economics. . . . The pupil of Knies and Wagner, coming from Germany with his German political ideals, succeeded Bascom as a teacher of political economy in the German university of the German state of Wisconsin."

Professor Ely's influence was not limited to the university nor to the State. "At a recent meeting of the American economic association it was found that there were present seventy professors or instructors in colleges who at some time in their career had been his pupils." [890]

The doctrine "that business and human welfare can increase side by side", and "that laws can be so constructed as to lead to progress and at the same time preserve to the fullest all human betterment",[891] has been applied in Wisconsin and in Germany. The "Wisconsin Idea" has had the same source as the "Monarchical Socialism" [892] of Germany. It has aimed at efficiency and social and industrial betterment; but it has been based upon democracy, while that of Germany has been founded upon monarchical principles. Each has brought the life of the community and education into the closest relations. The University of Wisconsin has been a model for such institutions in the United States. Railroad regulation, sanitation, and social legislation have been in the hands of experts and they have undertaken to deal justly and wisely with every interest in the State. The ultimate success of the so-called Progressive Movement depends upon the application generally of similar methods both in our national affairs and the activities of local divisions.

That the results in Wisconsin have been brought about without injuring business or retarding prosperity is admitted "by hard-headed men in Wall Street" who are opposed to the "Wisconsin Idea", and by "bonding houses" which concede that stocks and bonds of all kinds are upon a sound basis in the State.[893]

XXV

THE REIGN OF ROOSEVELT

The succession of Theodore Roosevelt to the Presidency in 1901 gave an opportunity to the Progressive movement in the national sphere that had not been possible under either Bryan or La Follette. The conjuncture of a man and an occasion made Roosevelt the protagonist for nearly eight years of a veritable revolution in national policy. So many and varied were his activities, so diversified his interests that there was hardly a phase of the national life that was not renovated and stimulated; so completely did he dominate the stage that it was hardly an exaggeration to call his administration, as one writer did, the "Epoch of Roosevelt." [894] Indeed, his administration might well be described, as Von Holst characterized that of Andrew Jackson, as the "Reign" of Theodore Roosevelt. The parallel, perhaps, extended one step further in the selection of successors by each of these masterful men — successors, too, who proved disappointing to the men who selected them.

Mr. Roosevelt announced his intention of continuing the policy of his predecessor, so that his actual administration falls into two periods that of "the McKinley inheritance, and the conduct of the political estate" in his "own right." So far as it was possible for "one man to do another's work in that other's way", he kept his promise, and the "contrast between the free and independent Roosevelt of the last four years, and the Roose-

velt of the first administration, is the proof of the man's real capacity for self-control and continence." At the same time it was apparent that a new spirit had entered American political life. The policy of appealing to the people directly that marked his whole administration, appeared in the first period as well as in the second stage after his own election in 1904.[895]

In August and September, 1902, Mr. Roosevelt made a series of speeches in New England and in the South and West in which he advocated "legislative control of the great corporations commonly called trusts." These speeches marked the beginning of a policy on the part of the President which had for its object the establishment of governmental regulation of big business in the interest of the nation as a whole. His immediate purpose was to bring about a greater amount of publicity in order that fuller information might be obtained as a basis for a reasonable exercise of government supervision. The first legislative result was the establishment of a Bureau of Corporations as a part of the new Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903.[896]

Another phase of his policy concerned itself with the enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against illegal combinations of capital in restraint of trade — a law which had been disregarded for years. Many people had accepted the opinion that it could not be enforced against the power of great combinations of capital. Roosevelt proved that it could be done, and by that very fact showed the strength of a government based upon real popular support.[897] A series of suits were filed by the Attorney-General against a number of great combinations that were accused of violating the Sherman Law. One of the notable cases was the so-called Northern Securities

Case, originating in Minnesota where a corporation had been formed for the purpose of controlling "two naturally competing lines of railroad in each of which as a holding company it had acquired a majority of the stock". An appeal to the Supreme Court resulted in the decision that the action involved a violation of the law in regard to restraint of trade.[898]

The anthracite coal strike of 1902 gave President Roosevelt another opportunity to use his influence in the interests of the people. The strike had begun in May, but did not cause any considerable inconvenience until the approach of October brought serious embarrassment to many industries and threatened a total cessation of the supply before many weeks. The fuel supply is a necessity second only in importance to the food supply and the severe cold of the American winter meant intense suffering and even loss of life unless some way could be found to relieve the situation. The striking miners led by John Mitchell were willing to submit matters to arbitration, but the coal operators guided by George F. Baer declined to consider the proposal. Although President Roosevelt had no warrant for intervention as an administrator, he invited Mr. Mitchell and the group of presidents of the coal-carrying railroads to meet at Washington on October 3rd to confer upon the situation with a view to the discovery of some satisfactory adjustment. After a statement of the purpose of the conference by the President, Mr. Mitchell offered, on the part of the strikers, to accept the decision of any arbitrators appointed by the President and pending the decision to resume work. The coal operators, however, refused to accept the proposal and one after another "read to the President a series of typewritten lectures, denouncing the strikers, refusing arbi-

tration . . . . and calling upon the President to send federal troops to support the operators.'' [899]

After this failure to arrive at a settlement public indignation ''ran higher than it has gone over any recent event except the assassination of President McKinley.'' The coal question became an issue in the pending congressional and State elections; the Democrats of New York called for the ownership and operation of the anthracite mines by the federal government; the Republican Senators from Pennsylvania and the Republican Governor of New York exerted themselves to secure some concessions from the operators, but they were emphatically rebuffed. ''Newspapers, mass meetings, boards of trade, and various organizations throughout the United States were at this time denouncing the Coal Trust and demanding its prosecution. Conspicuous lawyers like ex-Attorney-General Olney were scathing in their denunciations of the trust, and frank in their statements that it could be criminally prosecuted under the laws.'' [900]

Finally, Mr. J. P. Morgan, in whose hands the real authority rested, realized that the country was holding him personally responsible and that the position of his lieutenants ''was untenable, and must be given up.'' Accordingly on October 13th he went to Washington, conferred with the President and agreed to leave all issues to a board to be appointed by the President. This board was to consist of an army or navy engineer; an expert mining engineer; a man of experience as an operator or merchant engaged in the coal business; a United States Judge for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania; and a sociologist of reputation. President Roosevelt later persuaded the operators to allow him to add a sixth member, and thus modified the plan was accepted by Mr.

Mitchell for the miners. The appointment of a strong board by the President brought to an end one of the most serious industrial conflicts in the history of the country.[901]

Henry D. Lloyd described the action of President Roosevelt "in substituting arbitration for government by injunction and military usurpation" as "the greatest stroke of recent statesmanship, 'a short-cut across lots in real American style'." On the announcement of the award he wrote to a friend as follows: "the miners got exactly what they asked for. They did not demand any 'hard and fast' terms with regard to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment. They asked only for such concessions in these regards as they might be found entitled to by arbitration." In another place Lloyd declared that "a greater victory has not been won in the social history of our race". In a letter to the Minister of Commerce of New Zealand he said: "Beyond a doubt the resort of President Roosevelt to this arbitration, the favour with which it was received by the public, and its successful settlement of the questions submitted to it, were due to the initiative and the inspiration derived from the laws of your country." [902]

In 1904 came President Roosevelt's election directly to the office to which he had first come as a result of the act of an assassin. His great personal popularity, set over against the colorless candidacy of Judge Parker, resulted in a great popular endorsement. His second term, as he chose to regard it, was even more noteworthy in its achievements and in its influence upon popular opinion.

During the same year he took up the problem of railroad regulation, recommending in his annual message legislation giving power to the Interstate Commerce Com-

mission "to prescribe rates upon complaint and after full hearing, such rates to be effective until reversed by a court of review." The House of Representatives immediately took up the problem and on February 9, 1905, passed the Esch-Townsend Bill by a vote of three hundred and twenty-six to seventeen. The railroads succeeded in inducing the Senate to postpone action for a year in order to give them time to present their side of the case. The Senate committee on interstate commerce held sessions during the recess of Congress to take testimony and consider plans for rate regulation. "Railroad representatives, shippers, government officials, and students of the question" were heard by the committee, which reported in five volumes, containing the most valuable material yet gathered in the United States upon the problem of railroad control.

But the railroads did not limit their efforts to testimony before the Senate committee. They carried on a campaign of education such as has been rarely known in the country, "organizing publicity bureaus in charge of expert students of the railroad question, and flooding the country with literature in support of the railroad position." These efforts proved unavailing and the sentiment in favor of greater powers for the Commission was strengthened in the summer of 1905 by revelations of abuses in connection with private car lines and by disclosures of discriminations and rebates.

President Roosevelt renewed his recommendation of railroad regulation in his annual message of 1905, and on February 8, 1906, the House passed the Hepburn Bill, containing many features of the bill passed the previous session, by a vote of three hundred and forty-six to seven.

The Senate committee reported the bill unamended,

but for the purpose of discrediting the measure the conservatives of the committee put it in charge of Senator Tillman, one of the President's bitterest opponents. As a result the bill was really put into final form on the floor of the Senate, and gave rise to "as brilliant and able a debate as the Senate has known for many years. Party lines were never drawn. The radical Republicans combined with a majority of the Democrats against the great body of conservative Republicans, and every step in the framing of the measure was stubbornly contested. Extensively amended, the bill passed the Senate with but three dissenting votes".

The bill then went to a conference committee, and after two failures, it finally emerged on June 28th in acceptable shape and was signed the following day, becoming effective by joint resolution on August 28th. The final controversies were concerned chiefly "with pipe-lines, passes, sleeping-car and express companies, and the transportation by railroads of products owned by them."

In its final passage the bill was greatly helped by an unusual series of events, including several reports that revealed extensive violations of the Interstate Commerce Law, as well as other discreditable and unsuspected conditions that were assumed to be indicative of the railroad situation in general. These influences, in addition to the results of the insurance investigation of 1905, and the "disclosure of deplorable conditions in the packing industry" during the summer of 1906, caused so complete a loss of confidence in corporate activity that the movement to regulate transportation agencies more vigorously became irresistible. The measure as finally passed was "a much more radical statute" than the President and his

supporters had originally expected. Two other laws of great importance, the pure food and meat inspection bills, were carried through a reluctant Congress by the same wave of popular indignation aroused by the repeated discovery of corporate abuses.[903]

Another great accomplishment of the Roosevelt administration was the initiation of the movement for the conservation of the natural resources of the Nation. The President first took up reclamation work and, as a result of his activity, the Reclamation Act of 1902 was passed, by which the proceeds of the sale of public lands were set aside "for the purpose of reclaiming the waste areas of the arid West" by irrigation.

A little later he helped to broaden the scope of the forestry work of the federal government which was under the direction of Gifford Pinchot. "The Conservation movement was a direct outgrowth of the forest movement. . . . The first formal step" was the appointment of the Inland Waterways Commission in March, 1907. Out of the work of this Commission grew the Conference of Governors held at the White House in May, 1908, at which the subject for discussion was conservation. This meeting was the real beginning in a definite way of what has come to be known as the conservation movement.

Closely allied with it was the effort to improve rural life and agricultural methods which led to the appointment of the Country Life Commission in August, 1908. Its report contained "a most valuable body of first-hand information, and laid the foundation for the remarkable awakening of interest in country life which has since taken place throughout the Nation."

The President also used his powers extensively in preserving the remaining public lands for the people, dealing with frauds in a relentless fashion. The question of the concentration of water-power control was another matter of immense importance which was first given serious consideration during his administration.[904]

During all the years of his administration President Roosevelt was constantly making speeches in which he took advanced positions upon a multitude of subjects. His wide information and wonderful activity made it possible for him to use his office for the benefit of all sorts of enterprises. Swollen fortunes, inheritance taxes, race suicide, international peace, national defence, outdoor life, simplified spelling, child labor, naval development, and our relations with Latin America are only a few of the many subjects which he discussed in his public addresses and official messages. He was continually preaching upon all sorts of subjects for all sorts of people because, as he once said while reading a message to half a dozen friends in his library, he had "such a bully pulpit".[905] It is difficult to estimate the results of such multitudinous activity, but that it contributed to the changed attitude of the public at the close of his administration can not be reasonably doubted. Only a man of his remarkable energy, physical strength, and limitless interest could have inaugurated the Progressive movement in the national sphere as completely as he did in the seven and a half years of his presidency.

All of these greater enterprises were carried on while he was holding an office charged with greater executive responsibilities, probably, than that of any other in the world. These responsibilities were not only carried, but

his remarkable executive ability led to the elevation of the standard of administration by the toning up of the machinery of government. All classes came within the range of his interests and responded to the stimulus of his energetic personality. Never before in its history had the Presidency been so broadly representative of all that is best and most distinctive in American life.[906]

XXVI

THE PROGRESSIVES IN THE STATES

The remarkable success of President Roosevelt in the sphere of national politics was due to the preliminary work which had been done in the different States beginning about 1890 — work similar to that done by La Follette in Wisconsin, but less well known because it had not carried its leaders on into the national field. Michigan, Ohio, Oregon, Missouri, and Iowa were the most conspicuous of the States where the foundations were laid locally for the progressive movement.

One of the earliest of these local leaders was Hazen S. Pingree of Detroit, who was elected mayor of that city in 1889 and served four terms. His most noteworthy achievement was the so-called Potato Patch plan which he inaugurated in 1894 and 1895 in order to aid the unemployed in those years. Vacant lots in the suburbs were used in parcels of a quarter or half acre each, upon which potatoes and garden truck were planted and cultivated by needy families under the supervision of a committee, funds being raised by subscriptions and the use of the land permitted by its owners. The first year 3,000 applications were received, but only 945 families could be provided for, who produced from $12,000 to $14,000 worth of crops at an expense of $3,600 to the committee or about $3.45 per lot. The second year 1,546 families cultivated 455 acres, producing crops of the value of over $27,000 at a cost of $4,900. The plan was adopted in many cities

and in various forms has continued to be used down to the present time. It illustrated the application of business ability and inventiveness to an urgent social problem.[907]

Another object to which Mayor Pingree gave considerable attention was the reduction of fares upon the street cars. After he had been in office nine or ten months a strike of the employees of the local car lines occurred, giving rise to rioting in the streets and some destruction of property. The street car company was very unpopular and public sympathy was with the strikers. The Mayor "harangued the strikers and told them in effect that they were right and that he endorsed their conduct." Under the circumstances the company surrendered and made terms with its employees. This result made him a hero in the eyes of the working classes, but greatly embittered the capitalistic class against him. The great majority of the voters supported him and he overcame almost all opposition.[908]

Mayor Pingree's warfare against the street car company — "the octopus" as he called it — continued until the close of his career ten years later; in the course of the controversy he came into contact with Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, who was associated with the New York capitalists who purchased the interests of the company to which the mayor was opposed. He fought the consolidation of the street railways in every possible way, but was finally defeated by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. An interesting account is given in Johnson's *My Story* of the relations between the reform mayor of Detroit and the future reform mayor of Cleveland.[909]

In 1896 Pingree was elected Governor of the State of Michigan by a vote of 304,431 as against 221,022 for his

Democratic opponent, his vote exceeding that of McKinley by 10,849. He undertook to hold both offices for a year, as his term as mayor did not expire for twelve months. His reason for such action was to enable him to oppose the consolidation of all the street railways of the city. Proceedings were started to oust him as mayor, and "the Supreme Court held that, since the law provides that the Mayor is subject to be removed by the governor, both offices could not properly be held by the same person at the same time." [910]

His two issues as Governor were primary election reform and railroad taxation, but he was unable to do much more than to urge them upon the attention of the legislature. He also "paid his respects" to the professional lobbyist, and "dealt somewhat" with the question of public franchises. He objected to the consideration of his nominations by the Senate in secret sessions and threatened "to break in and listen to the harsh things said about himself. . . . Nevertheless, in spite of all this friction, nearly all his nominations were confirmed; at least he fared no worse in this respect than the average of governors." [911] He was reëlected in 1898 by a plurality of 75,000. Altogether he was an interesting personality and a pioneer whose work is now largely forgotten. He anticipated in many ways the developments of social policies of later years. Arousing great bitterness, he nevertheless possessed a strong hold upon the confidence of the people of Michigan.[912]

Mayor Samuel M. Jones of Toledo, Ohio, was elected first as a Republican in 1897 and reëlected three times as an Independent, receiving at his second election 16,752 votes to 4,260 for his Republican opponent and 3,155 for

his Democratic opponent, notwithstanding the opposition of all the newspapers and both political machines. In his last campaign the newspapers adopted the plan of keeping absolutely silent about his candidacy, while the corporations were hostile and many of the churches opposed him because he had not closed the saloons. Somehow the simplicity and genuineness of the man drew to him a support that remained loyal until his death in office in 1904 and then the people gave him such a burial as rarely falls to the lot of any man. "I know not how many thousands were there [at his funeral]; they were standing on the lawns in a mass that extended across the street and into the yards on the farther side. Down to the corner, and into the side streets, they were packed, and they stood in long lines all the way out to the cemetery. In that crowd there were all sorts of that one sort he knew as humanity without distinction — judges, and women of prominence and women whom he alone would have included in humanity, there were thieves, and prize-fighters — and they all stood there with the tears streaming down their faces." [913]

His sobriquet, "Golden Rule" Jones, suggests the fundamental character of his life and work. He was of Welsh ancestry, coming to America when three years old. As a young man he began work in the oil regions of Pennsylvania. About 1893 he invented an improvement in the apparatus of oil-wells, and established a factory for its manufacture at Toledo, in which he posted the Golden Rule as a basis for the regulation of his business. A minimum wage, an eight-hour day, and welfare benefits were the concrete manifestations of his application of the biblical rule to industrial problems. He recognized the fact that his patent enabled him to disregard the competi-

tive rate of wages in his factory and every year he distributed a dividend of five percent upon the amount earned by each man who had worked for him six months. As his business prospered he built a fine house on one of the beautiful residence streets, but when he had the house-warming, his workmen and their families were the guests. "It used to amuse Jones to reflect that his literal acceptance of the fundamental principle of Christianity should have been such a novel and unprecedented thing that it instantly marked him out from all the other Christians and made him famous in Christendom." [914]

His political-municipal platform was thus announced by him: (1) equal opportunities for all and special privileges for none, (2) public ownership of all public utilities, (3) no grant of new nor extension of existing franchises, and (4) the abolition of the private-contract system of doing city work.[915] His great contribution to the betterment of municipal government was nonpartisanship in local affairs. He used to describe himself as "a Man Without a Party"; [916] but he was really and fundamentally a representative of that democratic spirit of which Lincoln was a type. He recognized instinctively that there is but one issue locally — that which is represented by the conflict of wealth and democracy. His career in Toledo was a part of the common war waged all over the country for the restoration of popular government.[917]

Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland, whom Lincoln Steffens declared was "the best Mayor of the best-governed city in the United States",[918] was another of the men who by local work made possible the success of the Progressive movement in the nation at large. Johnson had become a rich man through street railroads and iron manufacture

before his election to Congress in 1890. He served for two terms in the House of Representatives, being defeated in 1894 for reëlection. Through his interest in the Single Tax and his acquaintance with Henry George his views underwent a complete transformation and he became a "reformed business man" or "converted special privilege man". In 1901 he was elected mayor of Cleveland and remained in office until his defeat in 1909.

His great fight in Cleveland was for a three-cent fare upon the street cars; as an expert in the business he maintained that there was profit in such a fare under proper business conditions. He waged a long fight for his doctrine and lived to see it successful in a way, though not exactly as he hoped. But that was only the chief feature of a municipal policy that justified the statement given above. He gathered around him a remarkable group of young men — Peter Witt, "a fiery young radical", who was originally an opponent and who was city clerk under all his administrations and later street railway commissioner under one of his successors; Newton D. Baker, who was city solicitor from 1902 to 1912, and has been mayor of the city since 1912; Frederic C. Howe, who had been elected to the council as a Republican from one of the aristocratic wards, won over by Johnson, and renominated on the Democratic ticket (he is now Commissioner of Immigration at New York and an authority on municipal government); and Rev. Harris R. Cooley, director of charities and corrections, who has made a name for himself by his methods of handling dependents and criminals, and of whom Johnson used to say that instead of being a preacher he had become a minister. These men were all working for the city. "They had the city sense, a love of their town like that love which

undergraduates have for their university, the *esprit de corps* of the crack regiment." It was an interesting coincidence that three cities at the western end of Lake Erie — Detroit, Toledo, and Cleveland — should have had such mayors as Pingree, Jones, and Johnson — "different in everything except their democracy".

Johnson made an unsuccessful attempt in 1903 to redeem the State as he had the city. He used his big French touring car and held "immense meetings in a circus tent which was taken down and sent on ahead each night. In this way he was entirely independent of local committees, and they did not like that very well; it had been his wealth more than his democracy that had made him seem so logical as a candidate to some of the Democrats." His platform during this campaign demanded "a two-cent-a-mile railway fare and the taxation of railroad property at something like its value". Within two years of his defeat his first proposal became law with but one dissenting vote. His Republican opponent, Myron T. Herrick, defeated him by 120,000 votes.[919]

Another important contribution to the up-building of the Progressive movement came from the State of Oregon. No prominent single leader has focused the work there, but a real democracy has been skillfully led by men who have not cared to struggle for office, choosing rather to devote themselves to quiet work of a fundamental kind. One man, William S. U'Ren, has been described as the "father" of much of the democratic legislation. Apparently he is as near being the originator of it as any single individual.

Mr. U'Ren's early history is exceedingly suggestive

for the study of the development of the Progressive movement. He was born in Wisconsin in 1859; moved with his family to Nebraska, Colorado, and Wyoming; and finally, after a wandering life as a young man in search of health, reached Oregon in 1891. His father had been a reader of "Greeley's Paper", he himself had studied law in Denver, and about 1889 or 1890 had read *Progress and Poverty*. A little later he ran across a pamphlet describing the initiative and referendum, and through it became a convert to direct legislation. Just at this time the Populist party was gathering strength, and U'Ren joined its ranks. In 1896 he was elected to the State assembly, taking part in a long, corrupt senatorial contest the following year, in which he became familiar with all the methods of the commercial politics of the period. In 1898 he was a candidate for the Senate, but was defeated.[920]

Afterwards he was not a candidate for office, but lobbied for an amendment to the State Constitution providing for the initiative and referendum. He declared he was going to secure their adoption if it cost him his soul; he would do "nothing selfish, dishonest, or dishonourable"; but he would "trade off parties, offices, bills — anything for that." "We helped through measures we didn't believe in", U'Ren said, "to get help for our measures from members who didn't believe in them. That's corruption, yes; that's a kind of corruption, but our measures were to make corruption impossible in the end."

In 1902 he was finally successful in having the direct legislation amendment ratified by the people by a vote of eleven to one. Two years later a thoroughgoing primary

law, which included the nomination and election of senatorial candidates, was presented to the people and adopted by a large majority.[921]

The original feature of the Oregon primary election law was its unique provision for nominating and electing candidates for the United States Senate. Members of the legislature could be pledged to vote for the candidate who received the highest number of votes at the general election, regardless of party or individual preference. This pledge was known as "Statement No. 1". If the candidate for the legislature was unwilling to make such a pledge, he could sign "Statement No. 2", which declared the vote of the people merely a "recommendation". Obviously the candidate who refused to sign "Statement No. 1" would find himself distinctly at a disadvantage as against a competitor who had signed it. The effect of "Statement No. 1" was to make the legislature a mere registration body as is the Electoral College. Virtually it was popular election of Senators without amendment of the federal Constitution. As the "Oregon Plan" it played an important part in the contest for the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment.

The first Senator elected under the new plan was Jonathan Bourne, Jr., who made "Statement No. 1" the issue of his campaign, "sending out numerous circulars explaining and defending that feature of the primary law." He was successful in his canvass, obtaining a majority of one on joint ballot, in spite of the fact that fifteen Senators held over from the election of 1904. The legislature confirmed his election with only four opposition votes.[922]

The real test came two years later in 1908 when Governor George E. Chamberlain, a Democrat, was the "peo-

ple's choice'' by a plurality of nearly 2,000, while a majority of the legislators were pledged to ''Statement No. 1''. In spite of the opposition of political partisans a legislature, five-sixths Republican, confirmed the election of a Democrat to the Senate.[923] A similar instruction was voted for another Democrat, Harry Lane, in 1912.[924] Thus the plan seemed firmly established before the adoption of the amendment to the federal Constitution providing for the popular election of United States Senators made it unnecessary. Oregon has been for many years regarded as reliably Republican so that its election of Democratic Senators has been a real test of the merits of the plan and the political independence and intelligence of the people of the State.[925]

Joseph W. Folk's ''Fight for Missouri'' began with his attempts to punish political corruption in St. Louis as Circuit Attorney in 1900. His exposure and prosecution of municipal boodling and bribery led him on to uncover the relations of the city ring with big business and its affiliations in State and nation. The punishment of the city boss and nearly all the members of the ''boodle combine'' did not destroy the ring, because behind the ring stood the big business-man, and behind the big business-man were his relations with other men and interests throughout the country. To make even a beginning of reform the sphere of activity must be State-wide; and so Folk became a candidate for Governor in 1904 and was elected as a Democrat, although the Republicans elected the Presidential Electors, the lower house of the legislature, and all the other State officers. The Democrats had been the ruling party in the State for many years, and their overthrow was largely due to the exposure of

political corruption accomplished by Folk. This triumph of independent voting was made in spite of the difficulty of splitting tickets in Missouri. The simple issue was presented and the people responded by electing Folk in 1904 and the complete Republican ticket in 1908. In 1912 the State returned to its former Democracy. The negative work of exposure had not been followed by positive constructive legislation as in Wisconsin and Oregon.[926]

William Allen White of Kansas described the Progressive movement as "one of the big self-evident things in our national life."[927] The common characteristics of all the local and State activities just discussed may be grouped under two main divisions and classified as warfare against political bosses and as warfare against special privilege; and these two classes are practically one, because they have a common source and a common purpose. They constitute what Senator A. J. Beveridge so aptly described as "the invisible government". Lincoln Steffens in his studies *The Shame of the Cities* and *The Struggle for Self-Government* repeatedly makes the assertion: "Not the political ring, but big business — that is the crux of the situation. . . . The trail of the political leader and the trail of the commercial leader are parallels".[928]

That the Progressive movement has been non-partisan is shown by the fact that of the eight leaders above named four were Republicans, three Democrats, and one a Populist. Doing public business in the open, dethroning bosses, giving the people a direct voice in public affairs, restoring popular government, and abolishing special privilege — these activities have no essential or fundamental political relations. Hence the breaking up of the

older parties into Progressives and Standpatters — [929] the real divisions being based upon social and economic differences, while the nominal party lines are traditional and historical. Again we meet the fact of the growth of social politics in place of the older political separations.

As Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency marked an epoch in the development of the Progressive movement so his retirement produced a momentous effect. The last months of his administration were stormy ones: it almost seemed as though unconsciously he divined the fact that his great work would not be carried forward by his successor. His restless energy was never more evident. On the other hand his opponents in his own party began to rally as the end of his rule approached. Even before the inauguration there were indications of the break between him and his successor which slowly widened until it resulted in the split in the Republican party in 1912.[930]

XXVII

THE SPLIT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

The first real division in the Republican party came in the House of Representatives and was directed against the arbitrary power of the Speaker which had grown up since the adoption of the "Reed Rules" in 1890. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois had been Speaker since 1903, and had used his power to maintain the established system and in opposition to many Progressive measures. The regular Republicans grouped themselves about the Speaker, while their opponents made an issue of what they called "Cannonism". The members of the opposition came to be known as "Insurgents", although they preferred to be called "progressive Republicans". At the beginning of the special session in March, 1909, they protested against the election of Mr. Cannon for another term, and a few voted against him.[931]

The first serious contest came in March, 1910, when about forty Insurgents joined with the Democrats to overrule a formal decision of the Speaker. The struggle continued for four days and ended with a vote of one hundred and ninety-one to one hundred and fifty-six that the Committee on Rules be reorganized. This committee, instead of consisting of five members appointed by the Speaker with the Speaker as chairman, was to be made up of ten members appointed by the House, with the proviso that the Speaker should not be a member. Speaker Cannon announced that he would entertain a motion to

declare the chair vacant, and such a motion was made and supported by all the Democrats, but was supported by only nine of the Insurgent Republicans. In 1911 the Democratic majority entrusted the appointment of committees to the Committee on Ways and Means which was appointed by the Democratic caucus.[932]

By far the most dramatic and important struggle between the regular Republicans and the Insurgents occurred in the Senate in the debate upon the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill. The chief issue of the campaign of 1908 was the revision of the tariff and the Republican party stood committed to it. A special session of Congress was called by President Taft, immediately following his inauguration, to redeem the party promise. By revision had been meant reduction; but when the House bill reached the Senate it was amended by the Finance Committee, of which Senator Aldrich was chairman, in a way which made it very unsatisfactory to the Progressive Republican Senators from the West. They spoke against the measure as amended and urged its rejection, declaring that it did not redeem the party promise.[933]

Upon the final vote in the Senate ten Republican members voted against it. These were Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, Brown and Burkett of Nebraska, Clapp of Minnesota, Crawford of South Dakota, Cummins and Dolliver of Iowa, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Nelson of Minnesota.[934] Seven of the Senators voted against the bill as amended in the Conference Committee when it was before the Senate upon its final passage. The three members who changed their final vote were Senators Brown and Burkett of Nebraska and Crawford of South Dakota.[935] President Taft had used his influence to bring about the improvement of the bill, but

finally signed it. The Progressive Republicans felt that he might have helped them in a more positive way; and when in September, 1909, in a speech at Winona, Minnesota, he described the tariff as "the best that had ever been passed", the break between the President and the Progressives rapidly developed.[936]

The campaign of 1910 was dominated by the division within the ranks of the Republican party. Progressives attacked the old party leaders, who in turn accused them of party disloyalty. These controversies inevitably reduced the Republican strength and as a result the Democrats made great gains. The return of former President Roosevelt from his African journey in the summer of 1910 and his tour of the West helped to make more marked the lack of harmony, although Roosevelt himself refrained from direct criticism of party policies. His great speech at Osawatomie, Kansas, in August set forth a personal program which he described as the "New Nationalism". President Taft tried to mediate between the rival wings of his party, but without success.[937]

As was to be expected under such circumstances, the State elections resulted in a "landslide" for the Democrats. In nine States the Republicans lost the legislature which was to elect a Senator, while they gained only one such legislature, "thereby reducing their number in the Senate, after 1911, from 59 to 46; and raising the Democratic Senators from 33 to 38." In the House of Representatives, also, the Republicans lost heavily, returning only one hundred and sixty-three members while the Democrats elected two hundred and twenty-seven members. The apparent strength of the Republicans was reduced by the success of the Progressives who carried most of the western seats for the Republicans. The

election was a distinct rebuke to the regular Republicans and President Taft was necessarily involved. It indicated that the country supported the position of the Progressive Republicans: they could no longer be ignored.[938]

The political importance of the Progressives was plainly shown in April, 1911, when they demanded representation in the "Republican membership of the Senate Committees in the ratio of 1 to 4, and that their assignments should be made by the four of their group who were on the Republican steering committee, La Follette, Bourne, Cummins, and Bristow." Senator La Follette, who made the motion to this effect, mentioned as the Progressives, Senators Clapp, La Follette, Bourne, Borah, Brown, Dixon, Cummins, Bristow, Crawford, Gronna, Poindexter, and Works; "and declared that the division between them and the Regular Republicans 'is recognized in the Senate and throughout the country as based upon clearly defined differences on important legislative measures and questions of great public interest'." The regular Republicans refused these demands, but agreed to give the Progressives "their full proportionate share of appointments" insisting, however, that the assignments be made by the caucus, "and that the Progressives should not be recognized as an organization distinct from the Republican majority of the Senate." [939]

During the special session from April to August, 1911, the Progressives "acted virtually as a third party, and for a time, by an alliance with the Democrats, practically controlled Congress. As a group they vigorously opposed . . . . Canadian reciprocity", although this measure was proposed and urged by President Taft.

"The three Democratic measures, the farmers' free-list, the wool and the cotton bills received from 23 to 30

Progressive Republican votes in the House of Representatives. In the Senate the first two bills were passed in amended form by a coalition of the Progressives and the Democrats. This Senate alliance was broken during the consideration of the cotton bill, for a majority of the Regular Republicans, incensed at the previous action of the Progressives, left the Senate Chamber and allowed the Democrats to perfect the measure without regard to the wishes of their former allies. When, however, the President vetoed the three tariff measures, more than two-thirds of the Progressives in the House of Representatives joined the Democrats in their unsuccessful attempt to pass the farmers' free-list and the wool bills over the veto." [940]

In a speech in the Senate in July upon the reciprocity bill Senator La Follette attacked the administration of President Taft, "declaring that he had deserted the Roosevelt policies . . . . had placed in his Cabinet men devoted to the great corporations; had surrendered to the financial interests in Alaska; and had supported the indefensible Payne-Aldrich tariff."

Senator Cummins issued a "signed statement" in September in which he said that President Taft had allied himself with "Senators and members of the House who are known from one border of the country to the other as reactionaries or stand-patters". He criticised President Taft's attitude upon the Payne-Aldrich tariff, his vetoes of the tariff bills during the special session, his advocacy of reciprocity, and his conservation policy.[941]

In October two hundred Progressives met in Chicago and "adopted a declaration of principles, drawn up by Ex-Secretary Garfield, C. E. Merriam and Amos Pinchot; and endorsed Senator La Follette as their candi-

date for the presidency." The importance of this endorsement was greatly lessened because most of the prominent Progressive Congressman and Senators remained away from the conference. Even before the Chicago meeting, Senator La Follette had opened extensive headquarters in Washington and had been carrying on an energetic campaign for the Republican presidential nomination.[942]

During the last week in the year 1911 Senator La Follette "made a speaking tour of the Middle West. . . . He affirmed that the progressive movement was a fight as 'old as human liberty, for the rights of all the people against the encroachments of a powerful few' . . . . The purpose of the progressive movement . . . . was so to modify constitutions, statutes, courts and the complex details of government as to restore the sovereignty of the people and carry out their will."

His program included "congressional legislation to prevent unreasonable restraints of trade, based on physical valuation of corporate properties and the cost of production." He would establish "a permanent, nonpartisan, scientific tariff commission" to ascertain the difference in the cost of production in this and competing countries as a basis for protective duties. He favored "the direct primary for selection of delegates to Presidential conventions, together with a Presidential preference primary, the popular vote to be binding upon the action of the delegates. He stood for the initiative and referendum and the recall, including the recall of judges."[943]

A division arose among the Progressives as to the candidate who would be most likely to defeat President Taft's renomination. Senator La Follette was first en-

couraged to announce himself, but later he was urged to withdraw in favor of Mr. Roosevelt as a more popular leader with a better chance of defeating the President. Dissension and recrimination resulted and became the basis for a bitter personal feud between La Follette and Roosevelt. The former declared that he had been used to test the situation, and when it had been found favorable, Roosevelt announced his willingness to enter the race as he had all along intended to do. On the other hand, it was declared that La Follette had been supported faithfully until his own physical breakdown, as evidenced in his address in Philadelphia in February, 1912, made it plain that another candidate must be found.[944]

Later in the same month (on February 10th) a conference was held in Chicago, which was attended by seven Republican Governors and seventy Republican leaders representing twenty-four States. The purpose of this meeting was to promote the nomination of Roosevelt. The Governors present were Stubbs of Kansas, Osborn of Michigan, Hadley of Missouri, Aldrich of Nebraska, Bass of New Hampshire, Glasscock of West Virginia, and Carey of Wyoming. These seven Governors addressed a letter to Colonel Roosevelt stating their belief that "a large majority of the Republican voters of the country favor your nomination and a large majority of the people favor your election as the next President of the United States." They asked him to "declare whether, if the nomination was offered to him unsolicited and unsought, he would accept it."

Two weeks later Mr. Roosevelt replied that he would accept the nomination "if it were tendered to him", and "expressed the hope that as far as possible the people might be given a chance, through direct primaries, to

express their preference as to who should be the nominee of the Republican National Convention." [945]

Three days earlier Mr. Roosevelt had delivered "a notable address before the Ohio Constitutional Convention" at Columbus in which he declared himself a Progressive and announced his support of "all governmental devices which will make the representatives of the people more easily and certainly responsible to the people's will." Among these devices he included the "recall of judicial decisions", which he "explained to mean that when a court decides a constitutional question . . . . the people should have a right to recall that decision if they think it wrong." He distinctly limited the use of the recall to the States. He also favored the initiative and referendum, the short ballot, popular election of Senators, direct nominations, presidential preference primaries, and popular election of delegates to national nominating conventions. He closed the address "with an earnest plea for social justice, for the moralization not only of political conditions, but of industrial conditions".

This speech was regarded as his political platform, and with the announcement of his candidacy in reply to the letter of the Governors "an active and by no means friendly campaign" for the Republican nomination was begun. President Taft and Mr. Roosevelt waged a vigorous campaign against each other by means of public addresses during the interval before the assembling of the nominating convention in June. The ex-President accused Taft of being "a reactionary and of being in league with bosses and the beneficiary of their crooked politics". The President replied by referring to direct primaries as "soap-box" primaries and their advocates as "political emotionalists or neurotics".

The bitterness of this unfortunate personal campaign was increased by the fact that ten States had provided by law for a presidential preference primary — namely, Oregon, California, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Illinois. In all the primaries except in Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and North Dakota, Mr. Roosevelt won, generally by large majorities. In Massachusetts the result was "close and inconclusive", and in North Dakota Senator La Follette won a majority over both of the other candidates. In Wisconsin the vote was 131,920 for La Follette, and 47,629 for Taft — Mr. Roosevelt's name not appearing on the ballot. The results left the decision in the hands of the convention because of the partial character of the presidential primary. So far as there was an opportunity for a popular expression, it plainly indicated Roosevelt as the choice.[946]

The Republican National Convention met in Chicago on June 18th. The preliminary arrangements were in the hands of the national committee, chosen four years before, which favored the renomination of President Taft, and this committee selected Senator Elihu Root of New York to act as temporary chairman. When the announcement of the choice was made Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement in which he urged Progressive Republicans to oppose Senator Root's election as one "put forward by the bosses and the representatives of special privileges and as opposed to progressive principles within the Republican party."

According to established custom, it is the business of the national committee to make up a temporary roll of members by deciding between the claims of contesting

delegates, subject to reversal by the convention itself after organization. The Roosevelt supporters claimed that the committee ought to carry out the popular will and not seek to thwart it. As the work progressed and it became apparent that the committee proposed to use its power against Mr. Roosevelt, he decided to go to Chicago and watch the struggle in person. On his arrival on June 15th he declared that he felt "like a bull moose" — a phrase which later gave a "popular name and symbol" to the Progressive party.

After the roll had been prepared it became certain that the Taft forces would control the convention. Governor McGovern of Wisconsin was named by the Roosevelt delegates as their candidate for temporary chairman, but Senator Root was chosen by a vote of five hundred and fifty-eight to five hundred and two. After the "keynote" speech of the temporary chairman who "appealed to the minority to yield to the majority and to work for a united party", Governor Hadley of Missouri moved that ninety-two of the Roosevelt delegates be seated, but the motion was referred to the committee on credentials, which had been made up by the Taft organization, and it was soon made plain that no concessions would be made. On June 20th Mr. Roosevelt declared that he was "through" and advised his delegates not to act longer with "a fraudulent majority". The "steam-roller" continued its work, and Mr. Roosevelt published another statement in which he expressed his willingness to accept a Progressive nomination.

On June 22nd "Henry J. Allen [947] of Kansas announced that the Roosevelt delegates would no longer share the responsibility for the convention's acts." He also read

a message from Mr. Roosevelt in which he reiterated his charges of fraud and repeated his advice for his delegates to refuse to vote.

Mr. Fairbanks of Indiana, as chairman of the resolutions committee, read the platform. A substitute Progressive platform was offered by delegates from Wisconsin, but was laid on the table after a brief debate. For the platform offered by the committee six hundred and sixty-six votes were cast, fifty-three opposed it, and three hundred and forty-three remained silent. President Taft was nominated by W. G. Harding of Ohio, the nomination being seconded by John Wanamaker of Philadelphia and by President Butler of Columbia University. Senator La Follette was nominated by a Wisconsin man and his nomination was seconded by a North Dakota delegate. When the roll was called five hundred and sixty-one voted for Taft, one hundred and seven for Roosevelt, forty-one for La Follette, seventeen for Cummins, and two for Hughes; while three hundred and forty-four remained silent. Vice President Sherman was renominated, receiving five hundred and ninety-seven votes; while three hundred and fifty-two delegates remained silent.[948]

The severity of the contest within the Republican party absorbed public attention to such an extent that the struggle in the Democratic party received slight notice, although the conflict in the majority party made it very probable that the Democratic nominee would be elected. In that party, too, there was "a notable struggle between the radical and conservative wings."

The three leading candidates were Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio, Speaker Champ Clark, and Governor

Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. Governor Harmon was regarded as a conservative and his nomination was vigorously opposed by Mr. Bryan. As between the other two candidates he remained neutral until the meeting of the convention. Speaker Clark entered the convention "considerably in the lead in the number of delegates pledged, but without a majority pledged to his nomination."

A succession of events just before and after the assembling of the convention led Mr. Bryan to abandon Speaker Clark and announce his support of Governor Wilson. This action was the culmination of a series of remarkable efforts by Mr. Bryan during the convention to bring about the nomination of a Progressive Democrat. His announcement settled the contest in favor of Governor Wilson who was nominated on the forty-sixth ballot by a vote of nine hundred and ninety, Clark receiving eighty-four and Harmon twelve. Mr. Bryan's part in the Baltimore convention was as dramatic as his action in that of 1896; and its practical importance consisted in the fact that it determined which of two men was to be the next President of the United States.[949]

At the close of the Republican convention "the Roosevelt delegates . . . . with their alternates and thousands of Roosevelt followers, held a meeting in Orchestra Hall" in Chicago. Resolutions were adopted, and Mr. Roosevelt made a long speech [950] in which he declared that the time had come for all Progressives to get together in one party. He expressed his willingness to be a candidate, but any other man nominated would receive his "heartiest support." A provisional committee was appointed to arrange for the new organization.

On July 8th a call was issued for a convention to meet in Chicago on August 5th to organize the new party. This call was signed by men representing forty States, including Governor Hiram Johnson of California, Judge B. B. Lindsay of Colorado, James R. Garfield of Ohio, and Gifford Pinchot of Pennsylvania.[951]

"The National Progressive Convention met at Chicago Aug. 5. There were 18 women delegates . . . . prominent among whom was Miss Jane Addams of Chicago." Ex-Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana was temporary chairman and made an eloquent address which aroused the delegates "to a high pitch of enthusiasm. The convention, with ten thousand people in attendance, sang fervently the 'Battle Hymn of the Republic', and 'Onward Christian Soldiers', and the demonstrations and spirit that was manifested led even hostile newspapers' correspondents to report that nothing like this convention had ever before been known in American politics; that it seemed more like a religious assembly imbued with a humanitarian spirit of enthusiasm and devotion."

On the second day of the convention Mr. Roosevelt was received with great enthusiasm, and made his "Confession of Faith", which a New York newspaper strongly opposed to him described as "the best, the ablest, the most persuasive of all his public utterances."

On the third day a platform was adopted, candidates nominated, and the convention adjourned. Roosevelt and Johnson were nominated for President and Vice President. The official name of the party was designated as the "Progressive Party". The distinctive feature of the platform was its program of social and industrial justice, in which it was declared that "the supreme duty of the Nation is the conservation of human resources".

This program included "legislation regarding industrial health and accidents, child labor, wage standards, women's labor, hours and days of labor, convict labor, industrial education, and industrial research." [952]

The significance of the convention was finely stated by Miss Addams in her brief address seconding the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt. "Measures of industrial amelioration", she said, "demands for social justice, long discussed by small groups in charity conferences and economic associations, have here been considered in a great National Convention and are at last thrust into the stern arena of political action. A great party has pledged itself to the protection of children, to the care of the aged, to the relief of overworked girls, to the safeguarding of burdened men . . . . The new party has become the American exponent of a world-wide movement toward juster social conditions, a movement which America, lagging behind other great nations, has been unaccountably slow to embody in political action." [953]

The campaign was an exceptional one, with a number of dramatic incidents. On October 14th an attempt was made to assassinate Mr. Roosevelt in Milwaukee and he was seriously wounded. On October 30th Vice President Sherman died after a long illness. Senator La Follette repeatedly made bitter personal attacks upon Mr. Roosevelt, and "he was understood to be throwing his influence privately" for Governor Wilson.[954]

The result of the election was "a sweeping Democratic victory . . . . by pluralities in so many states as to give that party's candidate the largest vote and the largest majority in the Electoral College ever given to a party candidate." President Taft carried two States, Vermont and Utah; Mr. Roosevelt carried five States,

Pennsylvania, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota, and Washington, and received eleven of the thirteen electoral votes of California; Governor Wilson carried all the other States and received four hundred and thirty-five electoral votes to eight for President Taft and eighty-eight for Mr. Roosevelt. The popular vote was as follows: Wilson, 6,290,818; Roosevelt, 4,123,206; Taft, 3,484,529; and Debs, 898,296. Governor Wilson had "a popular plurality of more than 2,160,000 over his nearest competitor", but there was a popular majority against him of nearly 2,460,000. "The combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt would make a majority of 1,316,927 against Wilson . . . . It is known that many Independents, Anti-Bryan Democrats and Republicans voted for Mr. Wilson, and it is therefore obvious that very many former Bryan Democrats must have voted for Roosevelt or for Debs, or refrained from voting." [955]

XXVIII

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN IOWA: GOVERNOR LARRABEE

Iowa has been fortunate in its Governors in times of unrest and agitation. Minor parties have not developed as great strength within her borders as in other States partly because the majority party has become moderately inoculated with the new demands and has conceded a portion of them. In 1873, for instance, Governor Cyrus C. Carpenter favored the regulation of railroads by the State and his attitude probably saved the Republicans from defeat. Very fortunately he had urged railroad legislation in his inaugural in 1872 so that he was not open to the criticism that he was a late convert for political reasons. Railroad regulation was the first object to which the Progressive movement gave attention.

The railroad law of 1874 was a radical measure adopted under the influence of the Anti-Monopoly party of that period, but approved and administered by the Republican Governor. This act was "perhaps the best example of an attempt to establish a fixed schedule of maximum rates and remained unrepealed longer than the similar acts of any of the other states." [956] According to Peter A. Dey, who did not believe in the method used, "the rates and classification . . . . were certainly reasonable . . . . and were the production of a mind familiar with the cost of railroad service and disposed to act justly." [957]

This measure was finally repealed in 1878 as the result of a systematic campaign waged against it by the railroads,[958] and in its place was substituted a commission appointed by the Governor "with the power to *give advice* . . . . but with no authority to enforce the advice. Excellent and well-known men were appointed and for many years a truce was established between the people and the railroad managers on terms that had been devised by the corporations. All that had been gained by years of agitation . . . . was now surrendered . . . . It took ten years to recover the lost ground and cost the people of the State millions of dollars." [959]

A more conservative view of the situation was presented by Governor William Larrabee in his study of *The Railroad Question*, which was published in 1893 and in which he described the repeal of the law in 1878 as brought about by the efforts of the railroad managers to discredit it. "There had been, however, no expression of public dissatisfaction during the campaign preceding the session of the General Assembly. There were doubtless individuals and even communities to whom the law had been made so odious that they felt they had but little to lose by a change, but the masses of the people believed that the law was based upon just principles and desired its perfection rather than its repeal." Mr. Larrabee, who had been a member of the State Senate since 1867, "was convinced that a strong and conscientious commission would be a much more potent agency to secure reasonable rates for the shipper than a maximum tariff law without proper provisions for its efficient enforcement." After "many animated debates in both houses of the General Assembly . . . . the commissioner system

at last prevailed . . . . The law was extensive in its scope and stringent for that time, and, if strictly enforced in letter and in spirit, promised to be, and would have been, entirely sufficient for the thorough control of railroad corporations."

An interval of ten years elapsed before the next general change was made in railroad legislation. The developments that led to it are described by Mr. Larrabee. "Nevertheless, in the course of time it became apparent that either the law had not lodged sufficient authority in the commission or the commission did not make use of the authority which the law had given them . . . . The people soon found that the new system of control was almost as inadequate as that which it had displaced. Some attributed the weakness of the commission to its personnel, others to the law. There is no doubt that the commission might have accomplished more than it did."[960]

The agitation that finally produced the railroad act of 1888 gradually took shape. "Every year seemed to add to the grievances of the public. Success greatly emboldened the railway companies. Discriminations seemed to increase in number and gravity. At many points in the western part of the State freight rates to Chicago were from 50 to 75 per cent higher than from points in Kansas and Nebraska. . . . The rate on coal in carload lots from Cleveland, Lucas County, to Glenwood was $1.80 per ton, and from the same point to Council Bluffs only $1.25, although the latter was about thirty miles longer haul . . . . Repeated attempts were made in the General Assembly to secure the passage of an act looking to that end [that is, a more thorough control of railroads], but, owing to shrewd manipulations on the

part of the railroad lobby, every attempt was defeated. . . . Railroad politicians gradually lost their influence, and the symptoms of public discontent greatly increased." [961]

The preliminary battles were fought in the General Assembly of 1886, while the contest reached a conclusion in 1888. James G. Berryhill was the recognized leader in the House of Representatives in both of these Assemblies. He framed the legislation with great care in respect to the constitutional points involved. The railroad companies never allowed the controversy to go to the Supreme Court of the United States because they were so thoroughly convinced of its constitutionality. Because of the Glenwood coal case in which the railroads charged an excessive rate for transporting coal to a State institution Governor Larrabee was convinced of the need of legislation. He appealed to the Railway Commissioners, and they decided that they had no power to remedy the abuse complained of since their functions were merely advisory.

Although forty-five bills were introduced in the House and sixteen in the Senate all the legislation proposed by the reformers in the session of 1886 was defeated. The three chief points aimed at were to prohibit free passes to public officials, to make the Railroad Commissioners elective, and to give them power to fix freight and passenger rates. During this session the Senate gave much less attention to the subject than did the House.[962]

In his second inaugural address in 1888 Governor Larrabee made a strong plea for the control of railroad charges by the legislature. He declared that "the main issue" concerned the "mutual relations between the people and the great corporations." He then took up the

subject of railway transportation, in the course of which discussion he gave "a retrospective view and a survey" of the situation. He described the way in which the legislation of 1874 was passed, the attitude of the railroad managers toward the act, and their successful efforts to have it repealed in 1878. He proceeded to say that "the charges for transportation . . . . are by far too high, and bear little or no relation to the cost of the service. Although steel rails can now be purchased for one-third of the price paid for the iron rails that were laid upon roads built fifteen years ago, and engines, cars and coal have depreciated in value in nearly the same proportion, local freight and passenger rates have not decreased to any perceptible degree. Railroad companies should not be allowed to reap all the profits growing out of modern inventions and the reduced cost of equipping and operating their roads".

"The railroads of Iowa have received as donations from various sources a value of over fifty million dollars . . . . The men who control our railroads labor under a serious delusion, inasmuch as they entertain an exaggerated opinion of the obligations under which they have placed the public. They attribute to themselves the unparalleled material progress which this country has made, and claim the wealth which by their agency has been accumulated as their reward . . . . this argument, if carried to its logical result, would transfer the title to a large share of their income to the heirs of Mr. Watt, the inventor of the steam engine. A similar reasoning would also give to McCormick all the profits of the reaper, and to Whitney those of the cotton gin. Owners of railroads are no more entitled to a perpetual royalty than inventors."

Continuing his searching analysis of the situation in the State the Governor pointed out the fact that the railroads had "usurped powers dangerous to the public welfare, and have practiced extortions perhaps less cruel, but in the aggregate more gigantic, than those of the British landlord. It has been found necessary to limit the power of public officers to levy taxes for the maintenance of our schools and the support of State, county and municipal government — notwithstanding the fact that those taxes are used for the benefit of the people. Yet a few railroad managers are free to meet in Chicago and levy an extra tax of one, three or even five million dollars upon the people of Iowa without giving them anything in return".

"The assertion has often been made that railroads do not take sides in politics. It is doubtless true that they do not cast their fortunes with those of political parties, but it is not true that they do not concern themselves in the affairs of the political arena. It has been for years their well defined policy to favor their friends and punish their enemies".

Governor Larrabee's recommendation at the close of his arraignment of the railroads was that the Railroad Commissioners "should be authorized and required to exercise full and complete supervision over the railroads of the State, compelling them to comply with the laws and to furnish adequate facilities at reasonable compensation. With less than this the people of Iowa will not and should not be satisfied." [963]

The day before, in his biennial message, he had made more detailed recommendations as follows: (1) "the passage of a law destroying the pass system root and branch"; (2) "that maximum passenger fares on first

class roads be fixed at two cents a mile''; (3) ''the passage of a law fixing reasonable maximum rates of freight on the principal commodities transported by rail; and also authorizing and requiring the Railroad Commissioners to reduce said rates at any time when, in their judgment, they are too high. . . . Railroads should not be permitted to raise any freight rate at any time without the written approval of the Railroad Commissioners''; and (4) election of the Railroad Commissioners by the people or their choice through nomination by the executive and confirmation by the Senate. Moreover, the salaries of the Commissioners should be paid by the State and not by the railroad companies.[964]

Such a message and such recommendations from the Governor of a State nearly thirty years ago are worthy of especial attention since most of the matters referred to are yet to be fully accomplished in many parts of the country. Governor Larrabee was a pioneer, antedating every one of the Progressive leaders thus far considered. His advanced position is all the more remarkable for he was a successful business man and a banker.

In the preface to his study of *The Railroad Question* he described himself as ''not an entire novice in railroad affairs.'' He had had ''experience as a shipper and as a railroad promoter, owner and stockholder'', and had even had ''thrust upon him for a short time the responsibility of a director, president and manager of a railroad company. . . . He came to . . . . Iowa before any railroad had reached the Mississippi. Engaging early in manufacturing, he suffered all the inconveniences of pioneer transportation, and his experience instilled into him liberal opinions concerning railroads and their promoters. He extended to them from the beginning all the

assistance in his power, making not only private donations to new roads, but advocating also public aid upon the ground that railroads are public roads. As a member of the Iowa Senate'' for eighteen years he ''favored always such legislation as would most encourage the building of railroads, believing that with an increase of competitive lines the common law and competition could be relied upon to correct abuses and solve the rate problem. He has since become convinced of the falsity of this doctrine. . . . It is the object of this work to show that as long as the railroads are permitted to be managed as private property . . . . they are not performing their proper functions; and that they will not serve their real purpose until they become in fact what they are in theory, highways to be controlled by the government as thoroughly and effectually as the common road, the turnpike and the ferry, or the post-office and the custom-house.'' [965]

The strong position taken by the Governor for legislative control of the railroads encouraged the advocates of such a measure in the legislature to frame a bill to deal adequately with the problem. It met with ''the most determined opposition'' from the railroads, but for the first time since 1874 they ''found an organization equal to their own'', which could not be ''circumvented, intimidated nor beaten.'' [966] Bills making the Commissioners elective for a term of three years and giving them power to regulate railroads and other common carriers (street railways excepted) easily passed the General Assembly. ''Public sentiment had become irresistible and there was little opposition to the reform in either branch of the General Assembly.'' The abolition of free passes to public officials, however, failed again and that reform had to

await another forward movement in the struggle between the people and the railroads.[967]

Governor Larrabee's last message in February, 1890, reviewed the working of the new railroad laws after nearly two years of experience. He referred to the "fact that the act [ch. 28] passed both houses without a dissenting voice" as proving "that great care and intelligence had been exercised in framing it. Experience has since demonstrated the wisdom and justice of the measure. The companies made strenuous efforts to defeat the enactment and afterwards the enforcement of the law. Failing in the attempt, they advanced local freight rates, immediately after the adjournment of the General Assembly, from 20 to 30 per cent.

"The commissioners proceeded under the law to prepare a schedule of rates for the roads. They endeavored to give, as far as it was possible, relief to the business interests of the State, which had been greatly depressed by unjust rates; and at the same time to grant the carrier a reasonable compensation for the service rendered".

"After having secured from the commissioners such modifications of the schedule as they could, the railroad managers proceeded to enjoin them in the federal court from enforcing it. The Attorney-General commenced a large number of penalty suits in the state courts against various companies, to compel compliance with the law. Soon after, upon the application of a number of shippers, the commissioners modified the original schedule by the adoption of the Western Classification. The railroad managers now again applied to the federal court for an injunction, but were refused; whereupon they adopted the commissioners' tariff, and I directed the Attorney-General to discontinue the prosecution of the penalty suits.

"They showed their resentment, however, by discharging a large number of employes and greatly reducing the train-service. This reduction caused much inconvenience to the public, and doubtless diminished the revenues of the companies, while the discharge of so many faithful employes was an act of great injustice. The discontinued trains have since been restored, and the roads have never been so crowded with business as at present, nor has the service ever been more satisfactory to the people.

"Quite recently the companies also dismissed their injunction suits, thus admitting the reasonableness of our rates and the groundlessness of their complaints against the legislation of the last General Assembly. It is now generally admitted that our present local freight tariffs are more equitable than any previously in force in the State; and it affords me pleasure to say that there is at present little friction between the railroad companies and the people." [968]

For the period when this legislation was obtained its completeness and results were really remarkable; but the power of the railroads was only limited and an interval of relaxation of agitation was bound to allow them to recover in other ways a considerable portion of their influence. The fact that the Commissioners were elective gave the railroads an opportunity to control the election of useful and friendly men. As soon as the popular interest relaxed, it proved easy to weaken the law in this way. While a vigorous Governor and a group of leading men were on hand, little could be accomplished; but the railroad managers were constantly at work, while popular opinion and public servants vary in interest and efficiency. After another ten years much of the work had to be done over again and done more thoroughly.

Governor Larrabee's effective leadership in the settlement of the railroad question had made him a popular leader and many citizens desired that he should be retained in the service of the State. Some suggestions were made that he would be a suitable successor to Senator James F. Wilson in 1888, but he refused positively to allow his name to be used. Again in 1890 he was "mentioned as the proper man for the senatorship" in succession to Senator William B. Allison, who had already served three terms. The Democrats had carried the State at the last election for Governor and the Republicans retained control in the legislature by "such a small majority that complete harmony was necessary within the party to elect a United States Senator." Governor Larrabee refused to be a candidate. "He was tendered the influence of combinations in the legislature that would have made him senator . . . . If he had tried he would have succeeded. He came almost [near] succeeding without trying — and he would have done so if he had not stopped his friends and advocates in the legislature." [969] Even after his refusal to be a candidate he received eight votes. Moreover, it should be remembered that it took nearly six weeks and one hundred and thirty-seven ballots to organize the House in this legislature, and the compromise candidate for Speaker was a Democrat. How easy it would have been to bring about a deadlock in the senatorial election with Governor Larrabee as a compromise candidate! [970]

The relation between the Progressive movement in Iowa and Wisconsin was literally that of both cause and effect so far as Iowa was concerned. Iowa was in advance of Wisconsin in 1894 when La Follette began his work in the latter State, and Iowa's experience was used

by him as an example of better conditions as to railroad control.[971] La Follette's agitation was the inspiration, at least in part, of the reforms made under the administrations of Governor Albert B. Cummins from 1901 to 1908.

Governor Larrabee has a remarkable chapter in his book upon *The Railroad Question* in which he describes the influence of the "Railroads in Politics". While he makes only occasional references to conditions in Iowa there is every reason to suppose that his account is based upon experience in his own State, which was similar to that of other States.

In concluding this chapter he declared that it was "probably true that railroad managers" had "lost much of their former influence in politics. As their means of corruption have become generally known they have become less effective. The public is more on the alert, and corrupt politicians often find themselves unable to carry out their discreditable compacts. But it is unreasonable to expect the evil to cease until the cause is removed . . . . when there shall be established a most thorough and efficient system of State and National control over the railroad business of the whole country." [972] Such a statement published in 1893 gives a contemporary view of the situation at the beginning of the last decade of the last century.

XXIX

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN IOWA: GOVERNOR CUMMINS

The railroad influence in politics did not again arouse attention until in 1894, when the contest over the election of a successor to Senator James F. Wilson, who declined to be a candidate for another term, was being fought out. "Among the candidates . . . . was Mr. A. B. Cummins, of Des Moines. He was one of the acknowledged leaders at the Iowa bar, a railway lawyer of high professional rank, and a Republican of well-known individuality of thought and speech . . . . he had not gone very far in his campaign for the Senate before he discovered the location of the private [Railroad] offices in which . . . . it had been decided that he was an undesirable citizen. His defeat neither disappointed nor discouraged him. He called his friends about him, and announced his purpose, with their help, to keep up the fight."

A group of able railroad lawyers had for many years attended political conventions and sessions of the General Assembly. Their chief business was to see that "nobody was nominated for a State office who had morbid views upon the subject of railway taxation", and to discourage "unfriendly" legislation. They also took an interest in the election of United States Senators to prevent any one "of an erratic turn of mind" from getting into "that ancient retreat of sane and safe statesmen". They man-

aged these matters "with such suavity of manner that their activities seldom produced a disagreeable impression upon the public mind." [973]

Mr. Cummins had come to Des Moines in 1878 after a varied experience as express messenger, surveyor, and railroad engineer. Before his removal to Iowa he had read law and had had three years of practice in the Chicago courts. He opened an office in the capital city and rose rapidly in his profession until he became one of the best known lawyers in the State.

In 1881 he became the chief attorney for the farmers in their litigation with the syndicate that had obtained control of the best patents covering the manufacture of barbed wire. A "Protective Association" had been formed to resist the advance of price and to test the matter in the courts. The contest continued for more than five years, and in the end the monopoly was broken. Mr. Cummins acquired a State-wide reputation as the result of his handling of this important series of cases.[974]

In 1888 he took his seat in the lower house of the General Assembly as an anti-prohibition Republican. "In all legislation aside from prohibition he acted with the Republicans." He was a man of independence and his course in the legislature, added to his part in the breaking up of the barb-wire monopoly, made him unsatisfactory to the big business interests and the corporations. Hence their objection to him as a United States Senator.[975]

Mr. John H. Gear, the successful candidate for the United States Senate in 1894, had been the compromise Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1874 when that body had been equally divided between Republicans and Anti-Monopolists. He had been Governor from 1878

to 1882, and was elected to Congress in 1886, 1888, and 1892. During his campaign for the senatorship he "had been accustomed to say, as an argument in his own behalf, that he only desired the office . . . . to round out his career" — a plausible statement because he was then nearly seventy years of age. But as the end of his term approached and he decided to be a candidate again, Mr. Cummins announced his own candidacy and "a struggle ensued which has ever since been famous in Iowa political affairs." [976]

A significant argument used against Gear was that "he was the candidate of a 'Senatorial Trust', a dangerous political machine which was endeavoring to assume a dictatorship in Iowa politics. The men who made up this 'Senatorial Trust' or 'Regency' were said to be the members of the Iowa delegation in the lower house of Congress, a number of Federal officials from Iowa, and five or six candidates who had run against Gear for the senatorship in 1894. . . . The danger of permitting this alleged machine to gain control of the State was again and again pointed out by those who were working for the success of Albert B. Cummins."

The contest waged fiercely throughout the year 1899 in county and district conventions as well as in connection with the fall elections of members of the General Assembly. "Both sides claimed the victory almost up to the date of the legislative caucus; but an impartial count would doubtless have foreshadowed the success of Senator Gear." [977]

Senator Gear was reëlected by a vote of one hundred and eleven to thirty-two over his Democratic opponent, without any opposing candidate among the Republicans. Mr. Cummins had withdrawn his name in the Repub-

lican caucus when it had become evident by the defeat of his candidate for the speakership that his opponents were in control. The deciding vote in the contest was forty-three to thirty-eight. *The Iowa State Register* described the fight made by Cummins as a "marvel", considering that he had against him "a railroad with millions backing the biggest 'boss' the state ever knew, and a half dozen allied railroads with the shrewdest men in Iowa political life in their employ, half or more of the congressmen, the entire organization of the great Republican party of Iowa, most of the office holders and aspirants, an army of paid agents, hundreds of influential newspapers whose editors are repaying obligations incurred by accepting postmasterships, and scores of federal office holders whose salaries the nation had paid while they have spent three years in steady, continuous work for their benefactor." [978]

Senator Gear, however, died in July, 1900, before the close of his first term, and Governor Shaw appointed Congressman Jonathan P. Dolliver as his successor. "The appointment of Mr. Cummins was not considered, because he had offended and defied a power greater than the government of the State." [979] The same opposition that had prevented his election in 1894 and 1900 interposed its veto. How little did the forces that dictated the appointment of Mr. Dolliver realize that he was to close his career as a co-laborer with the man whom they had refused to endorse! Before the next session of the General Assembly in 1902, Mr. Cummins had been elected Governor of Iowa and his contest for the Senate was postponed to a future date after the completion of his work as the executive of the State.

In February, 1901, Mr. Cummins announced his can-

didacy for Governor, and in a letter, written to another avowed aspirant to the same office, he declared that his "great object in what" he had "done in a political way" had been "to bring the individual voter into more prominence, and to diminish the influence of permanent organization in the ranks of the party." [980]

At the Polk County convention he said that he was "not a candidate because J. W. Blythe or N. M. Hubbard" wanted him to be. He had had occasion "to feel the power of the passes and patronage distributed by" his friends "from Burlington and Cedar Rapids". When they sent him "a challenge, which one of them did", that he must retire from his candidacy or be pounded into the earth it fixed his "determination beyond all reconsideration to ask the people of Iowa whether they intended this distinguished coterie, who had honored" him "by their enmity, to name who should be the Governor of Iowa." [981]

Thus began "the most notable contest within the Republican party since the famous Harlan-Allison senatorial campaign of thirty years before. Every county in the State was fought for most vigorously by the contending wings of the party. . . . The former leaders were for some time unsettled as to the choice of a candidate . . . . to unite all elements of opposition to Mr. Cummins". They finally decided to support Major Edwin H. Conger, "the American Minister to China, who had recently won world-wide fame in the defense of Pekin against the Boxers." He was willing to allow the use of his name, but did not make an active canvass. In spite of the efforts of the opposition Mr. Cummins entered the convention at Cedar Rapids on August 7th with 866 delegates out of 1,641 and was nominated upon the first ballot.[982]

The proposal for tariff revision which came to be known as the "Iowa Idea" appeared in the platform adopted at Cedar Rapids, but it did not originate with Mr. Cummins. These resolutions read as follows:

"We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world. We indorse the policy of reciprocity as the natural complement of protection, and urge its development as necessary to the realization of our highest commercial possibilities."

"We favor such amendment of the inter-state commerce act as will more fully carry out its prohibition of discrimination in rate making, and any modification of the tariff schedules that may be required to prevent their affording shelter to monopoly."

These declarations were written by George E. Roberts and "adopted without debate or objection by the full Committee on Resolutions, and when reported to the convention were adopted by unanimous vote." There was nothing especially original in the resolutions, since they were "a mere paraphrase" of the national Republican platform of 1896 and were "taken almost literally from the State platform of Connecticut". President McKinley expressed the same idea a month later in his speech at Buffalo just before his assassination, and in the preparation for that speech he had read and commended the declarations. As the "Iowa Idea", however, the sentiments thus expressed enjoyed "a remarkable celebrity" for a number of years. They represented what was regarded as a progressive policy in regard to the tariff, such as was held by the Progressive Repub-

lican Senators in their opposition to the Payne-Aldrich tariff act.

Mr. Cummins was without knowledge of these declarations until after their adoption by the convention, but he endorsed them fully and gave them an important place in his campaign.[983]

Another subject which Mr. Cummins emphasized in his speeches was the assessments of railroads for taxation. Such assessment, he maintained, should be upon the same basis as was applied to farms and city lots. Undoubtedly his emphasis in this matter was due to his own experience with the hostility of the railroads towards him simply because of his independence. In fact his program was largely a personal one, resulting from his own experience in politics. He appealed from the party leaders to the people; he felt that the railroad influence was inevitably hostile to democracy and independence; he turned inevitably to the methods and measures by which more popular control and less party management would prevail.[984]

His opponents maintained that the senatorship was the main object of his ambition, and that his election as Governor was desired so that he might "place friends in positions where they would be more influential and helpful in the coming contest for the senatorship."[985] Whatever may have been the real truth behind the controversy, it resulted in legislation and administration that has greatly benefited the State. Before Mr. Cummins retired from the governorship, the domination of the railroads had been broken, a primary law adopted, and railroad taxation made more equitable. In short the Progressive movement had been inaugurated in Iowa

and concrete reforms had been accomplished. To be sure Iowa had not advanced as far as Wisconsin, but the movement had made notable progress.

The vote for Governor was as follows: Republican, 226,902; Democrat, 143,783; Prohibition, 15,659; Socialist, 3,463; and People's, 782. The total vote cast was less by 42,000 than that cast for Governor in 1899 and less by 47,000 than that for Governor in 1897. In fact it was the smallest total vote cast in the State since 1889. The Peoples party vote was only seven hundred and eighty-two, showing that the 50,000 Populists had been absorbed by the Democrats in Iowa as in the country at large. The vote for the People's party candidate in 1897 and 1899 was 5,295 and 1,698 respectively. The Socialist vote (3,463) had grown from eight hundred and seventy-six and seven hundred and fifty-seven for the same years. The gold Democrats voted very generally for the Republicans and "served notice on the silver wing of the party" that they would continue to do so "as long as the Democratic platform of Iowa endorses the Kansas City platform and Mr. Bryan."

The Iowa State Register described the victory as mainly the result of Mr. Cummins's "own energetic endeavor during the nine months of a contest that has not been exceeded in strenuousness in Iowa's political history . . . . he had the unyielding and unending assistance of Republican personal friends, and an organization that has not been equaled in this state, but greater than all have been his own personal endeavors in the preconvention contest and in the campaign. He appealed to the people for their support and gained it without pledging himself to faction or interest." [986]

The inaugural address of Governor Cummins in Janu-

ary, 1902, presented for the first time in a formal way his program as chief executive of the State. Significantly, the first topic after the introductory paragraphs dealt with "reform", of which he said that it was "unfortunately as common, as it is unpatriotic, to sneer at the idea of reform and to deride the reformer; but the sneers and derision proceed either from a corrupt heart or an unthinking mind. Reform and betterment in laws are as essential to the advance of the republic as is the growth of its industrial life. . . . The true friend of progress recognizes that what we have is good, but perceives that we may have better . . . . he knows that government, to be just and effective, must adapt itself to the changing relations of men and the varying tendencies of the age. He understands that this generation has something more to do than to glorify the past and enjoy the fruits of its victories."

The next subject considered was that of "industrial combinations." After a statement of their advantages and disadvantages, the Governor concluded by saying that it seemed plain to him "that whenever a consolidation of manufacturers with respect to any commodity stifles competition at home, or so restricts its operation that its force is not fairly felt, then it is the imperative duty of Congress to immediately remove the artificial restraints we have created. I am not an advocate of a general revision of the tariff; but I stand for competition, the competition of the Republic if possible, but of the world if necessary. I regard the consequences of a monopoly, or substantial monopoly, in any important product, as infinitely more disastrous than the consequences of foreign importations."

Concerning the tariff and reciprocity he declared his

profound belief in the wisdom of the protective tariff policy and its value in the past as the most important factor in gaining "the gratifying position we hold in the affairs of the world"; but he believed that conditions were "somewhat changed", and that the United States was now interested in foreign markets as much as in home markets. Consequently reciprocity might well be arranged with countries to enlarge our markets "even though some particular industry is curtailed in its production . . . . Protection was established for man, not man for protection. Reciprocity that takes without giving is an idle dream and a contradiction in terms; and if its scope embraces only non-competitive products, it is of little future value in the economy of the nation."

Furthermore, he remarked that "some changes [in the tariff] might well be made, not through the medium of reciprocal treaties, but directly." The permanent trade policy of selling goods abroad at a less price than they were sold at home would not be tolerated by the people and if there are "lines of industry in which this practice is likely to become permanent", Congress should declare "they no longer need the fostering care of protective duties."

Another subject to which considerable attention was given was the subject of corporations, of which he said: "Wealth, and especially incorporate wealth, has many rights; but it should always be remembered that among them is not the right to vote. Corporations have, and ought to have, many privileges; but among them is not the privilege to sit in political conventions or occupy seats in legislative chambers. Corporations, as such, should be rigorously excluded in every form from participation in political affairs."

"One phase of corporate interference", in his opinion, "ought speedily to disappear under the righteous indignation of honest men. The professional lobbyist has . . . . become one of the features of legislative assemblies; he has become a stench in the nostrils of a decent community; and he ought to be driven with the lash of scorn, pursued by the penalties of the law, from the presence of every official and from the precincts of every legislative body in the republic."

Taxation in general and railroad taxation especially were two topics to which reference was made, following naturally after the discussion of corporations. The problems involved and the needed legislation were considered. The powers and duties of the Executive Council in regard to railroad assessments were particularly emphasized.[987]

The "Iowa Idea", as stated in the platform of 1901, gave rise to considerable discussion throughout the country, and produced some differences of opinion among members of the party in Iowa. Especially, was this true in regard to the "shelter to monopoly" clause, which was regarded by many as "the distinctive feature" of the real "Iowa Idea". Governor Cummins made a number of speeches in different parts of the country in which he dwelt upon the relation of the tariff and trusts and urged reciprocity as a necessary supplement to the protective policy. This discussion became involved with the campaign against the trusts begun by President Roosevelt about the same time. The lines of division began to be defined between those who favored a liberal tariff policy and the more conservative members of the party — the Progressives and the Standpatters.

Early in 1903 conferences were held to agree "upon the language of the tariff and trust resolutions to be

adopted'' at the next Republican State Convention in Iowa. The result was ''a general understanding that Senator Allison . . . . should submit . . . . a declaration the general purport of which was agreed to with the language subject to his revision. Senator Allison accepted the task with the understanding that he would be a medium through which the parties in disagreement might compose their differences rather than an arbitrator.'' The resolutions presented to the convention of 1903, and unanimously adopted, were ''more definite'' in their expressions in regard to reciprocity, and ''more favorable to the policy than the old resolution.'' They were ''more acceptable to those who saw in the latter something too much like an admission that the tariff did in fact afford shelter to monopoly.'' [988]

The Republican convention held at Des Moines early in July was very harmonious; Governor Cummins was renominated by acclamation; J. W. Blythe, who had endorsed him in a significant interview in April, was chairman of the resolutions committee; while Mr. Cummins's future opponent, George D. Perkins, was temporary chairman. No new issues were introduced and an interval of quiet prevailed before the outbreak of the bitter controversies that were to mark the later years of the State administration under Mr. Cummins.[989]

The Iowa State Register gave considerable attention to primary election laws during 1903. Before the convening of the Republican convention in an editorial, it noted that ''a number of the newspapers of the state are discussing a thorough-going primary election law for Iowa.'' After referring to laws passed or under consideration in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and New Jersey, it continued with the statement that ''Senator Crossley, of

Winterset, presented a meritorious bill to the last Iowa legislature, but it was not seriously considered. He has been making a thorough study of the subject since, and will undoubtedly present a new bill in the coming session . . . . If he does, it will meet with a different reception." [990]

During the campaign tariff revision and trusts were the chief subjects of discussion and to these subjects Governor Cummins devoted most of his attention. In opening the campaign at Des Moines early in October these were the exclusive objects of his consideration. He maintained that "the tariff bears exactly the same relation to the trusts that the Chinese exclusion law and the prohibition against immigrants under contract for labor do to labor unions; and I am impatient to know from my worthy opponent whether the democratic party is in favor of abolishing these laws in order to destroy labor unions." [991]

The vote for Governor in November resulted as follows: Republican, 238,804; Democrat, 159,725; Prohibition, 12,375; Socialist, 6,421; and Peoples, 594. The vote showed an increase of 11,902 for the Republican candidate and 15,942 for the Democratic candidate, while there was an increase of 27,328 in the total vote polled. The Republican vote had resumed the proportions formerly maintained before the defeat of that party in 1889 and 1891.[992]

At the opening of the General Assembly in January, 1904, Governor Cummins presented his biennial message, in which the only new subject considered was a primary election law. Concerning this matter he remarked that there had been "much discussion in Iowa during the past few years", and he believed that there was "a great pre-

ponderance of sentiment in favor of some regulation" that would "insure common decency and fairness in the nomination of candidates for office." There was "practically no fraud, dishonesty, or even unfairness in the conduct of general elections, but the manner in which caucuses, party primaries, and other proceedings leading up to nominations are held; and the practices which attend them in many parts of the State, have become intolerable with clean, fair-minded people." He recommended "the passage of a law" which would "surround the selection of candidates with the same safeguards against intrigue, dishonesty and unfairness, that already exist with regard to the election of candidates to office." [993]

Senator J. J. Crossley introduced his primary election bill at each session of the General Assembly until it was finally passed in 1907. Another general election, however, was to intervene, and three General Assemblies failed to pass such a law before it was finally placed on the statutes. The subject came to be an object of controversy between the Progressive and Standpat wings of the Republican party. The former regarded "the passage of the law as one of the greatest political reforms ever accomplished in Iowa"; while the latter maintained "that it was passed only to serve the ambitions of leading Progressives." [994]

The next general State election was not held in Iowa until 1906, because of the adoption of an amendment to the State Constitution, providing for biennial elections, incidental to which the terms of officials were extended one year.[995] The preliminary part of the campaign in the Republican party which ended with the State convention at Des Moines on August 1st was exceedingly bitter, surpassing in this respect the sharply contested struggle by

which Governor Cummins won his first election. No other Governor of Iowa had ever asked for three consecutive terms; he had already had an extra year of service as a result of the adoption of the biennial elections amendment; and these two influences were added to the bitterness of the previous conflicts and the increasing divisions between Progressives and Standpatters.

The actual contest, preparing during 1905, began in the first week of the session of the General Assembly in January, 1906. J. W. Blythe, general solicitor of the Burlington Railroad, held conferences at the Savery Hotel with those friendly to the railroads and the Standpat Republicans. It was decided that the Progressive Republicans must be destroyed and especially that Governor Cummins must be retired. *The Register and Leader* described the three points of the railroad and Standpat program as follows: "Kill the primary; keep Cummins busy; center strength on George D. Perkins as the most available candidate for governor."

Ex-Governor William Larrabee was invited to visit the legislature upon his seventy-third birthday, and although the invitation was not openly opposed, it was secretly criticized as a Progressive political move. Ex-Governor Larrabee was received on January 21st, and two days later *The Register and Leader* printed an interview with him practically endorsing Governor Cummins. Later he made two speeches at Waukon and Independence.

On January 22nd Mr. Perkins announced his candidacy; and at a mass meeting held at Sioux City it was declared that he stood for the same principles for which Governor Cummins stood. A month later Governor Cummins declared himself a candidate for reëlection in

a letter in which he outlined the issues and urged the overthrow of the railroad politicians.

In the General Assembly the Standpatters combined with the Democrats to oppose all Progressive measures, including the primary bill which was lost in the Senate by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-one. The alliance between the Standpatters and the Democrats continued during the contests for the election of delegates to the State convention.

Senator Dolliver favored Mr. Perkins for personal reasons, but he took no active part in the campaign, and his position was not open to criticism. Senator Allison was in poor health and had no part in the controversies, although in the background the conflict was one for the ultimate succession to Mr. Allison's seat in the United States Senate.

As the campaign continued it grew in bitterness, and it seemed almost impossible to avoid an open break in the party ranks. A good many contested delegations appeared and Mr. Perkins urged their reference to the national committee. His opponents declared they were mostly "fake contests" and refused to consider the proposal. During the campaign Mr. Perkins made "perhaps" thirty speeches, while Governor Cummins made about two hundred.[996]

So serious seemed the situation just before the meeting of the convention that the congressional delegation "held a conference at which the fake contest programme" of the anti-Cummins men was repudiated, and it was decided for the sake of the party to urge the State Central Committee "to settle the contests solely with regard to their merit". All the Congressmen in the city, except two, were present and Senator Dolliver presided.[997]

As a result the State convention was an harmonious one; and Governor Cummins was renominated upon the first ballot by a vote of nine hundred and thirty-three to six hundred and three for Mr. Perkins. The platform was made "agreeable all around",[998] and consequently was somewhat colorless. It commended "the inspiring character, important achievements and undaunted leadership of Theodore Roosevelt"; rejoiced "in the prominence and influence" of the Iowa "representatives in the cabinet and in congress"; and approved "most heartily the work of the Iowa delegation in the recent session."

After these general phrases there followed an endorsement of the "courageous leadership and practical administration of Governor Cummins. . . . The Republican party has always stood for the enlarged participation of the individual voter in public affairs . . . . we pledge ourselves and our party in this state to the enactment of a wise and judicious primary election law which will provide for the nomination by direct vote of all candidates for office to be filled at the general election and an expression of party preference in the selection of United States Senators."

Furthermore, the platform declared the party "unalterably opposed to the domination of corporate influences in public affairs. We favor the enactment of stringent statutes, to purge the politics of our state and nation from the corrupting influences of corporate power. . . . The abolishment of the free pass on railways is a most important step in curbing the influence of corporations in political affairs, and we commend the Republican legislature which has enacted a law to this end."

Finally, "the American system of protection" was "uncompromisingly" favored. "Wise and unselfish tar-

iff laws maintained in the interest of the general welfare, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, are essential to our commercial and industrial prosperity. We believe that all inequalities in the tariff schedules which inevitably arise from changing industrial and commercial conditions should be adjusted from time to time; and condemning without reserve all assaults upon the protective system, we favor such reasonable and timely changes as will keep the tariff in harmony with our industrial and commercial progress. We favor the reciprocity inaugurated by Blaine, advocated by McKinley and Roosevelt and recognized in Republican platforms and legislation." [999]

The real contest in Iowa was within the ranks of the Republican party: the nomination once secured election followed as a matter of course, a reduced vote being the only indication of party dissatisfaction or of party dissensions. The vote for Governor was as follows: Republican, 216,995; Democrat, 196,123; Prohibition, 9,872; Socialist, 8,728; and People's, 347. These figures show a reduction of 21,809 votes from the vote for Governor Cummins in 1903, and of 9,907 from the vote of 1901; while the Democratic vote increased 36,398 above that of 1903 and 52,340 over that of 1901.[1000]

In his biennial message of 1907 Governor Cummins reported upon the results of the convention held in Des Moines "for the purpose of furthering the application of sufficient States to require Congress to call a Constitutional Convention, to the end that an amendment may be submitted providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote." The Governors of twenty-five States named delegates and the convention met on De-

cember 5th. Thirteen States were represented in person and the remainder by correspondence. The sessions lasted two full days. Resolutions were adopted which were ordered to be sent "to the Chairman of the National Committee, and of the several State committees of the two leading political parties; also to the Governors of the respective states, to each member of Congress, and to the President." The Governors were urged to lay the resolutions before the State legislatures. The scope of the constitutional convention asked for by the resolutions was not limited, because it was not believed that Congress had power to limit the convention to the consideration of a single amendment.

Governor Cummins strongly endorsed the proposed constitutional convention because there was "no hope" that the Senate would ever "give the States the opportunity to express their desires." [1001] In his inaugural address a few days later Governor Cummins discussed the need of a constitutional convention to make the "organic law as great and broad and strong as the subjects it is to control." He favored an amendment that would "give the voters a chance to say, directly, who their Senators shall be"; an amendment that would give the voters an opportunity to say "who their President and Vice-President shall be"; an amendment that would make the interstate commerce clause strong enough "to enable Congress to control and regulate things which the developments of commerce have nationalized"; and "an amendment that will allow Congress to unify our marriage and divorce laws." [1002]

Subjects considered in the biennial message were lobbying and the lobbyist; contributions by corporations for

political purposes; primary elections; two-cent passenger fares; and additional legislation in regard to the issue of passes.[1003]

The inaugural address was devoted to the need of progressive legislation in a progressive democracy. "We should emancipate ourselves from idolatry with respect to things that are. We should emancipate ourselves from the desire to change simply to effect a change. Because there is much good in the existing order, we should not be turned away from the effort to make it better; but we should not overthrow what has been done simply to prove that we can overthrow it." [1004]

The campaign of 1906 settled definitely the position of Governor Cummins in Iowa politics. The Standpatters were decisively beaten, but they were not annihilated. They were to continue opposition for a number of years.

In 1908 the contest for the United States senatorship was renewed, and in this campaign the new primary law was used for the first time. The struggle was opened by Senator Dolliver in November, 1907, and throughout he was the principal speaker for Senator Allison, whose age and health prevented his participation in such a strenuous campaign. Senator Dolliver had been reëlected without opposition in 1907. The emphasis in the campaign by the opponents of Governor Cummins was laid upon the fact that he had declared himself not a candidate for Senator Allison's seat in 1905 when the gubernatorial succession was under consideration. His opponents claimed that this promise was without limit of time, while his friends maintained it applied only to that campaign. There was also a strong feeling in the State that Senator Allison's long service entitled him to a nomination without opposition. In the background were all the old

controversies of the contests between the Regular and Progressive Republicans, embittered by the defeat of the former.[1005]

Senator Allison won at the primaries in June by a majority of 10,635 votes, but his death on August 4th reopened the whole question. A special session of the General Assembly met on August 31st and amended the primary law so that the people could vote again in November in case of the death, resignation, or removal for any cause of a candidate nominated at the regular primary in June. The amendment applied only to the senatorial term beginning in March, 1909, and left unsettled the filling of the unexpired term. An attempt to elect by the legislature failed because of the refusal of the Standpat representatives to participate. Adjournment was accordingly taken to November 24th, when the result of the primary vote would be known. Governor Cummins won over his opponent, John F. Lacey, by a majority of over forty-two thousand. At the appointed time the legislature reassembled and elected Governor Cummins Senator by a vote of one hundred and seven to thirty-five for the Democratic candidate. The last act in the political drama which began in the contest of 1894 occurred when the General Assembly confirmed the choice of the November primaries and elected Senator Cummins for the full term.[1006]

Curiously enough Senator Dolliver and Senator Cummins were to fight shoulder to shoulder in the Senate against the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill. In the national sphere their views were similar. Their differences were chiefly due to the diverse ways in which they had entered political life. Senator Dolliver had entered public office "very young and everything came to him easily. He did

not have to encounter opposition in his own district. He did not have to fight for anything in his own state."[1007] Senator Cummins's contests formed a large part of the political life of the State for fifteen years before he attained the object of his ambition.

No two men were more powerful in giving voice and definiteness to the new Progressive wing of the Republican party than were Dolliver and Cummins. Dolliver's alignment with the Progressives was the crowning feature of a public career that had been wonderfully successful and brilliant. La Follette gives in his *Autobiography* a very interesting account[1008] of his gradual awakening to the political situation, until he broke completely with those who had been his friends in the early years of his congressional career. His sudden death in 1910 was an irreparable loss to Progressivism, as he seemed but to have entered upon the greatest period of his career.

The formation of the Progressive party is so recent and its future so uncertain that only the briefest reference will be made to it. Progressive Republicanism was very strong in Iowa, and in 1910 Senators Dolliver and Cummins controlled the State Convention. In 1912 Senator Cummins failed to receive the full support of his own State in his candidacy for President. The opposition made a last rally and sent to Chicago a delegation of sixteen for Taft and ten for Cummins. The absence of a presidential primary favored the success of the Standpatters. After the renomination of President Taft, Senator Cummins issued a statement in which he announced his intention of voting for Roosevelt, but declined to join the new Progressive party.[1009]

There was considerable hesitation about forming a

State organization of the new party in Iowa. Senator Cummins's position has just been stated. Senator William S. Kenyon, who had been elected the previous year after a contest lasting from January 9th to April 12th, declared for President Taft, but denounced the methods of the national Republican convention. Finally, in September a State convention met at Des Moines and nominated Progressive candidates for State offices. The candidate for Governor of the new party, John L. Stevens, received 71,877 votes at the election. The Republican candidate for Governor won by 1,699 over his Democratic opponent, while in the presidential contest the Democrats were successful by a vote of 185,325 to 161,819 for Roosevelt and 119,805 for Taft.[1010]

XXX

SOCIAL POLITICS [1011]

The special service of minor parties in the United States has been to call attention to economic and social conditions that require consideration and readjustment. The two great political parties have had for their principal interests political and constitutional reforms, while the group of lesser parties — beginning with the Anti-Monopoly and Reform parties of the seventies, continuing with the Greenback and Labor parties of the eighties, and ending with the Populist party of the nineties — have voiced the protests of people who felt keenly the need of economic and social change. The West has been the cradle of these parties, chiefly because of the economic conditions of the region and the temperament of the people.

The regulation of railroads and other corporations, the kind and volume of the currency, and the control of monopoly constituted the foundation for the wider economic and social legislation which has developed in recent years. To be sure there has been little recognition of the service of minor parties in these movements: their real place in American political life has been little appreciated. That they were the pioneers in the conversion of American politics from almost exclusive attention to constitutional and governmental matters to the vital needs of the people has only begun to be understood in the last few years.

It is a far cry from 1871 when the National Labor Congress declared "that pauperism and crime are the prevailing questions of all modern statesmanship" [1012] to the year 1912 when the platform of the Progressive party devoted a large section to the problems of *social and industrial justice.* Such an accomplishment has been chiefly the result of the protests and demands of successive minor parties. Indeed, these long neglected and often apparently extreme groups have slowly but surely made American politics social. Their work has been done so gradually that the term "social politics" has been little used and consequently requires definition.

"Social politics, as I understand it", writes Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago, "involves the conscious systematic control exercised by the government over the economic and social life of the given society or group. It is contrasted with a 'police' system in which the government contents itself with merely preventing violence and fraud. No government has ever practically confined itself to this course, but some governments have come much nearer to it than others, and some have given the idea theoretical assent." [1013] This definition makes the term synonymous with social legislation or social policy.

There is another aspect of the term which includes something other than legislative or governmental action: social politics describes the entrance into the activities of political parties of new kinds of issues which seem to have been forced upon politicians by economic and social forces that can not be ignored. Social politics is a by-product of the acceptance of the essential truth of the economic interpretation of history upon which the socialists have based so much of their agitation. The positive

side of social politics is found in the acceptance of these new issues as the vital and constructive part of political activity. Social legislation is the record of the result of the recognition of the economic and social factors in a comprehensive party policy. The impulse to social legislation has come out of the transformation of political activity from a matter of constitutional principle and governmental machinery to the consideration of social and industrial welfare. Social politics and social legislation are inseparable but not identical, and it is misleading to speak of one in terms of the other. Doubtless the confusion is partly to be explained by the novelty of both terms in our political vocabulary.

The gradual conversion of our politics from purely constitutional and governmental discussion has been a growth of many years — becoming apparent in a slight way in the campaign of 1872 and reaching full recognition only in 1912. The forty years intervening comprise a period of remarkable development in every phase of American life, and in no form of activity has the change been more complete than in politics which, properly understood, mirror or reflect what has been going on in the nation as a whole. Just as the federal Constitution resulted from the political and intellectual environment of the eighteenth century, so social politics have grown out of the industrial and social revolution of the succeeding century. The demand for some amendments to that great document involves no disrespect to its framers: it merely records the fact that unexampled material progress made possible under its protection has finally reached a stage where some readjustments have become necessary to facilitate further advance. Definite suggestions for amendment of the Constitution have been made

from time to time during the period when politics have been assuming a social character. As one Populist expressed it, "things in this country are one big mess with the Constitution sitting on top".[1014]

A few farsighted men realized soon after the close of the Civil War that serious economic and social problems were developing; but the great majority, absorbed in the problems of Reconstruction, were blind to the gathering difficulties. They confidently believed that individual freedom would inevitably bring with it economic and social prosperity and general well-being. One group, the workingmen in the great cities of the East, were aroused to the dangers of the situation because their own experience informed them. They organized a Labor Reform party which in 1872 tried to nominate a candidate for President.[1015]

In November, 1871, Henry Ward Beecher preached a sermon in which he referred to "enormous corporations — like the New York Central railroad, Erie, or the Pennsylvania Central." He asked his people to consider "how the nation stands open to these gigantic pecuniary corporations; how they are constantly opening in a thousand directions, and I need not say how much we have to dread from them . . . . we are to-day in more danger from overgrown pecuniary institutions — from organized money — than we ever were from slavery, and the battle of the future is to be one of gold and silver." [1016]

About the same time Cushman K. Davis of Minnesota, later Governor and Senator, in a "great speech entitled 'Modern Feudalism' . . . . voiced in most eloquent and convincing terms the grievances complained of and the reforms desired by the masses of the people. That speech which he delivered in many places, and his atti-

tude on those great questions of public concern led him into the governor's chair, came near sending him to the United States Senate at that time, and forever endeared him to all our people, who from that day never ceased to have confidence in his integrity, his wisdom, and his honesty of purpose." These words of another Minnesota Governor and Senator give us a picture of a man who early sensed the situation.[1017]

A congressional committee reporting in February, 1873, "with stern appreciation of the popular sentiment", described the country as "fast becoming filled with gigantic corporations wielding and controlling immense aggregations of money and thereby commanding great influence and power. It is notorious in many state legislatures that these influences are often controlling, so that in effect they become the ruling power of the State. Within a few years Congress has to some extent been brought within similar influences, and the knowledge of the public on that subject has brought great discredit upon the body, far more, we believe, than there were facts to justify. But such is the tendency of the time, and the belief is far too general that all men can be ruled with money, and that the use of such means to carry public measures is legitimate and proper." [1018]

A conservative student of the period declares that this investigation (Credit Mobilier) "marked the beginning of agitation against the effort of financial interests to influence legislation for their advantage. The struggle became a political question, and is still unsettled, so elusive and subtle are the forms of bribery invented and tried." [1019] We can safely conclude that the decades of the late sixties and early seventies brought face to face "an upstart plutocracy and a frenzied democracy. Where

now is serious effort to understand and obviate their conflict, there was then astute aggravation of it.'' [1020] In the intervening years — between 1873 and 1915 — American politics have been socialized, and the work has been done largely outside the ranks of the great parties.

In the preceding pages the various organizations that from the early seventies have struggled to produce the better relations of the present day have been described in some detail. Incidentally some account has been given of the work of the different leaders who during the long struggle have contributed to the growth of social democracy. Frequently a leader's influence has been unconnected with any candidacy for office, and of course minor party leaders had little, if any, real hope of actual election to office. Consequently, any complete survey must include consideration of men whose connection and place in the minor parties was slightly recognized.

The early Labor Reformers and Greenbackers were too weak to hope for any success through their unaided efforts: they turned, therefore, to men who had shown themselves independent in their political relations. Two men seem to have attracted their attention — Judge David Davis of Illinois and Governor Newton Booth of California. Through many years Judge Davis was the perennial refuge of Independents and Radicals. He was friendly and sympathetic, but never allowed himself to be placed in a position where he could perform conspicuous service. Governor Booth became the leader of the first great revolt from the domination of the Central Pacific Railroad. He waged successful warfare and was elected to the United States Senate, where he served one term and then went into retirement. According to the *Chicago Tribune* he was, with Allen G. Thurman and

Thomas A. Hendricks, "the subject of general inquiry among the Democrats" as a candidate for President in 1876. He was nominated for the vice presidency by the Greenbackers in the same year, but declined the nomination. President Hayes also considered his appointment as a member of his Cabinet in the following year, and he might have appointed him but for the fact that his seat in the Senate would be filled by a Democrat.[1021]

Other men to whom the Greenbackers turned were Peter Cooper, the philanthropist, and General Benj. F. Butler, both of whom as candidates have been considered in connection with the campaigns of 1876 and 1884.[1022] Neither of these men was in a position to perform really noteworthy service for the New Democracy.

The first great tribune of the people was General James B. Weaver of Iowa, candidate for President of the Greenbackers in 1880. He had achieved a place of prominence in the Republican party before he left it to join with the protestants against certain of its policies — especially in regard to the currency. He was a speaker of distinction, made an aggressive campaign, and continued for the remainder of a long life to strive for a union of all the scattered forces of reform. He was identified with the Greenback, Union Labor, and Populist parties, and was again a presidential candidate in 1892 for the last named organization. For twenty years from 1877 he spent himself in the service of those who were trying to socialize politics.[1023]

A leader of a different character was Henry George of California and New York, the originator of the Single Tax idea. His great service was with the workingmen in the older industrial communities of the East where his great ability as a speaker and agitator made him a power.

His great campaign for Mayor of New York in 1886 was his nearest approach to official position, but from that time to his death in 1897, while again engaged in a campaign for the same office, he was the unquestioned leader of the Labor wing of the reform movement. His leadership extended beyond the limits of the United States, and his remedy for economic and social evils has received a large degree of recognition.[1024]

The Populist party produced no great leaders. Its only candidate for President was General Weaver who had already served the Greenbackers in a similar capacity. It was a party of western farmers of average abilities, caricatured by the metropolitan press as "hayseeds", but representing creditably and honorably the communities from which they came. William A. Peffer of Kansas, William V. Allen of Nebraska, and James H. Kyle of South Dakota were able men, but they lacked the special qualities needed to make national leaders. They would have strongly supported a great leader, but they could not themselves fill the place. Like the earlier Labor Reformers and Greenbackers they turned to the great parties with the hope of inducing some man of leadership in their ranks to undertake the role of Moses. Judge Walter Gresham of Illinois was their choice and great efforts were made to induce him to accept the nomination of the party for President. He gave some encouragement at first, but seems finally to have concluded that the chance of success was too slight. That he was not averse to leaving the Republican party was shown by his later alignment with the Democrats and his acceptance of a position in President Cleveland's Cabinet.[1025] It is interesting to speculate as to what might have been the result if, in 1892, a well-known Republican like Judge

Gresham had accepted the Populist nomination and had made an aggressive campaign.

The significance of the union of the Populists and Democrats in 1896 was rendered greater because it gave to the elements represented in the minor parties for the first time a leader of first class ability. In a certain sense they obtained control of one of the great parties, and, as an incident of that control, acquired what had so far been beyond their reach, a really great leader. The convergence of these two facts meant that the work of minor parties was complete for a time, and since 1896 there have been no such parties except the Progressive party of 1912. The significance of Mr. Bryan's work as a political leader is greatly increased if we think of it in connection with the development of minor parties. His place is a large one in the history of social politics.

Bryan's leadership of the Democrats compelled the Republicans to take notice of the demands of the New Democracy. La Follette and Cummins in their respective States performed notable services, but the national leader who was to eclipse all others in the variety and magnitude of his work was Theodore Roosevelt. Just as in the study of party movements his place is preëminent, so in a study of leadership in social politics his position is unquestioned. He was not a pioneer; he came a little late upon the field; Bryan and La Follette anticipated him. "But just this has been his great work in American history. He has taken reforms and opinions which belonged to sects and localities and given them a national setting".

"He is not as progressive as the best thought of this country, but he is at least as progressive as, if not more progressive than the great weight of our citizenship. He

has remained close to them, never forgetting that we are a conglomerate people of all stocks, of all grades of life, of a thousand conflicting interests. He has done what no man has ever done before him, made himself not only a ruler but a leader of so vast and intricate a population. It is this which has enabled him to be the great middleman of reform. He is the man above all others who has carried new thought into the common consciousness of the American people".

"If democracies require men to mediate between the sect and the mass, between the locality and the nation, between one interest and other interests, then they require men like Mr. Roosevelt, conventional but sensitive, popular but willing to learn, not too far ahead but always ready to move forward." [1026]

Two campaigns stand out as landmarks in the development of social politics since the Civil War: first, that of 1896 when nearly six million and a half votes, out of a total of less than fourteen millions, were cast for Mr. Bryan; and second, that of 1912 when the combined vote for Mr. Wilson and Mr. Roosevelt was nearly ten and a half million out of a total of a little over fifteen millions. The great significance of the contest of 1912 consists in the fact that for the first time the country had gone progressive; the vote of the Democrats and Progressives exceeded the Republicans by over seven million.

The nation as a whole has come to the position urged by the successive minor parties — the socialization of politics. The gradual development of a social program has brought us so far upon the road of social progress. There remains one step more to be taken: in some way all the progressives must be brought within one party, if they are to be most effective, and if our traditional two

party system is to survive. Such a realignment of parties has seemed imminent for many years.

The formation of the Progressive party in 1912 raised the hopes of people who were of the opinion that there was need of a union of forward-looking men; but as yet there is no clear sign that the much desired result has been attained. The conversion of one of the great parties to progressivism rather than the formation of a new party is suggested by the party history of England and the United States. We must still await the future. The issue is in "the lap of the Gods".

NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES AND REFERENCES

CHAPTER I

[1] Turner's *Social Forces in American History* in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 217-233. This paragraph is taken from the writer's *Forward Movements in Politics since the Civil War* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XI, pp. 147, 153, 154.

[2] Buck's *Independent Parties in the Western States, 1873-1876*, in *Turner Essays in American History*, p. 164; Lowell's *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, pp. 79, 80.

[3] Kellogg's *The Industrial Platform of the New Party* in *The Survey*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 669.

[4] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 19, 1880.

[5] McLaughlin's *The Courts the Constitution and Parties*, pp. 170, 171.

[6] Bryce's *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. II, p. 352.

[7] Von Holst's *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States*, Vol. I, p. 64.

[8] The best discussions of third parties are to be found in Fess's *The History of Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States*, pp. 241-268; Ostrogorski's *Democracy and the Party System in the United States*, pp. 294-320; Ray's *An Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*, pp. 40-73.

CHAPTER II

[9] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, pp. 516-522; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. I, pp. 510-518.

[10] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1871, p. 750; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, letter to Jacob D. Cox, April 4, 1871, Vol. II, pp. 254, 255; *Sioux City Daily Times*, February 12, 1872.

[11] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 773; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 332.

[12] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 552; *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, February 1, 1872, p. 65; Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 412; *The Reform Movement* in *Political Pamphlets, 1870-1890*, in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. LXX, no. 15. The same volume contains a speech made by Gov. Brown before the Kansas Liberal Mass convention at Topeka, April 10, 1872.

[13] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 776.

[14] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 776, 777.

[15] Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 24, 25.

[16] See quotation from the *New York Herald* in the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, February 29, 1872. The *Sioux City Daily Times* of February 10, 1872, estimated the Liberal Republican vote at 465,000.

[17] The meeting against Tweed was held on April 4, 1871. Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 405; *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, April 18, 1872, p. 249.

[18] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 777.

[19] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 417, 418; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, letter to Greeley, May 11, 1872, Vol. II, p. 371.

[20] *The Clinton Age*, May 26, 1876; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 778; Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 412; Dunning's *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 195; Watterson's *The Humor and the Tragedy of the Greeley Campaign* in *The Century*, Vol. LXXXV, pp. 27-45; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 338-353.

[21] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 419, 420; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. II, pp. 354-361.

[22] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXX, July, 1872, p. 127; White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, p. 391.

[23] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 421-423.

[24] White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 380, 381; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 27-31; Williams's *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. I, pp. 366, 367.

[25] White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 382-385; Williams's *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. I, pp. 373, 374.

[26] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl*

Schurz, Vol. II, pp. 361-368, and letter to Samuel Bowles, dated May 11, 1872, Vol. II, pp. 369, 370.

[27] White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 402, 403.

[28] Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 31, 32.

[29] Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 33-36; Curtis's, *The Republican Party*, Vol. II, pp. 9, 10.

[30] Curtis's *The Republican Party*, Vol. II, pp. 9, 10; *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, June 27, 1872, pp. 413, 416, 417; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. II, pp. 378, 380, 384.

[31] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 427, 428.

[32] Dunning's *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 200.

[33] Fess's *Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States*, p. 257.

[34] Rhodes lists Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, and Texas. — *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 437. Dunning lists Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Tennessee, Texas, and Louisiana. — *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 201.

[35] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXX, December, 1872, p. 762.

[36] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXXI, May, 1873, p. 640.

CHAPTER III

[37] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 6, 1871.

[38] *The Clinton Age*, November 17, 1871.

[39] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, November 2, 1871.

[40] *The Clinton Age*, December 8, 1871.

[41] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, February 1, 1872.

[42] *The Clinton Age*, February 23, 1872.

[43] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, April 11, 1872.

[44] It appears from the *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye* of August 1, 1872, that Jacob Butler was called "Crazy Jake" in his home town, Muscatine. From the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* of April 9, 1874, it is learned that Mr. Butler was declared insane and taken to an asylum.

[45] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, May 2, 1872; *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 18, 1892.

[46] *Sioux City Weekly Times*, August 26, 1871.

[47] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, May 9, 1872.

[48] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, May 16, 1872.

[49] *The Clinton Age*, March 8, 1872.

[50] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, May 9, 1872.

[51] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, March 28, 1872.

[52] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 417, 418.

[53] Munroe's *The Hayes-Tilden Electoral Commission* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXII, October, 1893, pp. 528, 529. The author of this article, James Munroe, was a member of the House of Representatives from 1871 to 1881.

[54] *The Clinton Age*, September 13, 1872.

[55] Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 52.

[56] *Iowa Official Register*, 1913-1914, pp. 517-520.

CHAPTER IV

[57] Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 314, 325, 330, 331; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. II, pp. 257-306; *Sioux City Weekly Times*, August 26, September 30, 1871.

[58] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 609-611. Besides the fusion candidates, the Republicans, the regular Democrats, and the Prohibitionists made nominations. The regular Democratic candidate, William Allen, was elected over his Republican opponent by the close vote of 214,654 to 213,837.

[59] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 240, 241.

[60] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 218, 219. The Governor, Charles R. Ingersoll, served three terms.

[61] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, p. 523.

[62] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 477-479.

[63] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 610, 611.

[64] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 563, 564.

[65] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 153. For the activity of the independents during 1875 and 1876 see *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 361-372.

[66] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 155, 156.

[67] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 160.

[68] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 161.

[69] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 217, 218; Williams's *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. I, pp. 419, 420, 431, 437.

[70] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 219, 220.

[71] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 224, 225.

[72] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 230.

[73] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 233.

[74] *The Clinton Age*, May 26, 1876.

[75] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, pp. 779, 780. The States represented were Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, West Virginia, North Carolina, Missouri, and Minnesota. Among the twenty-nine vice presidents were Henry L. Pierce, Martin Brimmer, J. H. Seelye, Mark Hopkins, James Freeman Clarke of Massachusetts, T. W. Higginson of Rhode Island, J. D. Cox of Ohio, and Robert Collyer of Illinois. One of the four secretaries was Henry Cabot Lodge.

See also *The Nation*, Vol. XXII, April 20, 1876, p. 255; May 18, 1876, p. 313; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), May 16, 1876; Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 228, 229, 240-248; Williams's *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. I, p. 430.

[76] *The Clinton Age*, May 26, July 14, September 29, 1876. The last reference gives a list of forty-nine former Republicans who would support Tilden. In the list were Charles Francis Adams, Lyman Trumbull, Andrew G. Curtin, David A. Wells, Gideon Welles, David Davis, B. Gratz Brown, W. G. Sumner of Yale University, A. L. Perry of Williams College, and Charles A. Dana of the *New York Sun*.

[77] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 258, 259.

[78] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, p. 274.

[79] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 603.

[80] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 205.

CHAPTER V

[81] *The Clinton Age*, March 23, 1877; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 11, June 2, 1877; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 375, 376.

[82] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 16, 1877.

[83] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 494, 495.

[84] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 495, 496.

[85] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880, pp. 693, 694; Sparks's *National Development*, p. 168; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 394, 395. Doctor Edward A. Guilbert of Dubuque was secretary of the convention. In 1872 he was nominated by the Liberal Republicans and Democrats for Secretary of State.

[86] *The Nation*, Vol. XXX, May 13, 1880, pp. 362, 363.

[87] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880, p. 497.

[88] *The Nation*, Vol. XXX, May 13, 1880, pp. 362, 363.

[89] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1884, pp. 767-773; Sparks's *National Development*, pp. 334-343; *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 403-407.

[90] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. IV, p. 286.

[91] Bancroft's *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. IV, pp. 308, 309.

[92] *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 397-399.

[93] *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XXX, October, 1872, p. 509; *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, May 9, 1872, p. 300, May 16, 1872, p. 317.

[94] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, p. 520.

[95] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 776.

[96] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1872*, p. 207.

[97] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, p. 610.

[98] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, p. 241.

[99] Schurz was intellectually an aristocrat, believing in leadership by the few and with little sympathy for the average man. — *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz*, Vol. III, pp. 360, 401.

CHAPTER VI

[100] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 100.

[101] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 362, 363.

[102] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 622, 625, 626.

[103] Buck's *Independent Parties in the Western States, 1873-1876*, in *Turner Essays in American History*, p. 140.

[104] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, p. 363.

[105] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 82; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, p. 379.

[106] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, p. 364.

[107] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 82-87.

[108] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 367-369; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 88, 89.

[109] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 89-92; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 510, 511, 775-776.

[110] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, p. 527.

[111] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 92, 93.

[112] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, pp. 80-82.

[113] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 83, 84; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 93; *Newton Booth of California: His Speeches and Addresses*, Ch. II, pp. 122-336, especially pp. 124-138.

[114] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 93.

[115] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 412-415; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 93, 94.

[116] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, p. 559; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 94.

[117] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 402-404; Buck's *The*

Granger Movement, pp. 94-96; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 255.

[118] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, p. 811.

[119] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 577-579; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 97.

[120] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 435-437. The vote for the Independent Reform candidate for Governor was 35,308. — See McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 255.

[121] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 586, 587. The vote for the Independent candidate for Governor was 3,987. — See McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 255.

[122] *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, pp. 673, 674; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 97, 98; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 255.

[123] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 763, 764; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 98, 99.

[124] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 609, 610; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 99.

[125] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 98-101; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 98.

[126] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 509-511; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 99.

[127] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 98.

[128] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 99, 100.

[129] Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 100, 101.

[130] Commons's *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. IX, p. 49.

[131] *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, January 28, 1874.

Horace White was editor of the *Tribune* at this time. J. Medill resumed editorial control and Mr. White retired in November, 1874.

CHAPTER VII

[132] Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, pp. 329-332.

[133] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 2, 1873; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, June 12, 1873.

[134] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 13, 1873; *The*

Clinton Age, July 11, 1873; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, August 21, 1873, October 29, 1874, November 19, 1874, October 7, 1875.

[135] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, August 7, 1873; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 27, 1873; *The Clinton Age*, January 9, 1874.

[136] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 13, 1873.

[137] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, October 15, 1874.

[138] *The Clinton Age*, May 1, 1874, June 19, October 23, 1874.

[139] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 28, 1873; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 58, 89; Buck's *Manuscript*.

"I find . . . . that my first draft contains considerable more detail about the political aspects of the movement in Iowa than I ultimately used so I am sending you a few sheets of the manuscript." — From letter of Solon J. Buck.

[140] Buck's *Manuscript*; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, March 6, 1873; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 169.

[141] Buck's *Manuscript*; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, September 10, 1874; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 89.

[142] *The Clinton Age*, March 14, 1873.

[143] *The Clinton Age*, May 9, 1873.

[144] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 2, 1873.

[145] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 25, 1873.

[146] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, May 29, 1873, June 12, 1873; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 13, 1873.

[147] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 13, 1873.

[148] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 4, 1873; *The Clinton Age*, July 11, 1873.

[149] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 15, 1873; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, August 21, 1873.

[150] Buck's *Manuscript*.

[151] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, June 19, 1873, February 25, 1875.

[152] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, August 21, 1873.

[153] Buck's *Manuscript*.

[154] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 17, 1873;

Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 20, 21.

155 *The Clinton Age*, August 22, 1873.

156 *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, September 10, 1874.

157 Quotation from *The Des Moines Leader* in *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, August 7, 1873.

158 Buck's *Manuscript*; *The Clinton Age*, December 5, 1873, January 23, 1874; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 90.

159 Buck's *Manuscript*; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 91.

160 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 17, 1873; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, October 23, 1873.

161 Buck's *Manuscript*.

162 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 24, 1873; *The Clinton Age*, December 5, 1873. The *Iowa Official Register* for 1913-1914, pp. 518, 519, gives the following figures:

	Republican	Opposition
1872 —	132,719	74,447
1873 —	105,132	81,020
	27,587	6,573

163 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 30, 1874; Buck's *Manuscript*.

164 *The Clinton Age*, February 6, 1874.

165 *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, March 12, 1874; Buck's *Manuscript*; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 171.

166 Buck's *Manuscript*; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 171, 172.

167 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 66-68; *The Clinton Age*, March 20, 1874; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 20, March 13, 1874.

168 Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, pp. 332, 333.

169 *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, January 7, 1874.

170 *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, January 8, 1874.

171 *The Clinton Age*, January 9, 1874.

172 *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, January 8, 1874.

[173] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, March 5, 1874; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 27, 1874; *The Clinton Age*, February 27, March 6, 13, 1874; *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, March 4, 1874; *Sioux City Weekly Times*, January 10, February 28, 1874.

[174] *The Clinton Age*, June 26, July 3, 1874; *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 25, 27, July 1, 1874.

[175] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 2, October 1, 1874.

[176] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 3, 1874.

[177] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 9, 1874.

[178] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 3, 1874.

[179] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 26, 1874; *Sioux City Weekly Times*, June 27, August 15, 1874.

[180] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, October 15, 1874.

[181] *The Clinton Age*, October 16, 1874.

[182] *The Weekly Iowa State Register*, October 23, 1874.

[183] *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 14, 1874.

[184] *The Clinton Age*, November 20, 1874.

[185] *The Clinton Age*, December 11, 1874.

[186] *The Clinton Age*, February 12, 1875.

[187] *The Clinton Age*, March 12, 1875.

[188] *The Clinton Age*, April 16, 1875.

[189] *The Clinton Age*, May 14, 1875; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 14, 1875.

[190] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 2, 1875; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 1, 1875.

[191] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 1, 1875.

[192] *The Clinton Age*, July 16, 1875.

[193] *The Clinton Age*, July 23, 1875.

[194] *The Clinton Age*, August 6, 1875; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, July 8, 1875.

[195] *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, October 21, 1875.

[196] *The Clinton Age*, October 29, 1875.

197 *The Clinton Age*, November 19, 1875.

198 Buck's *Manuscript*.

199 Buck's *Manuscript*.

200 Muzzey's *An American History*, p. 515.

201 *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, November 26, 1874; *Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*, March 4, 1875.

202 *The Clinton Age*, February 25, March 3, March 17, April 14, 1876.

203 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 16, 1870.

204 *The Clinton Age*, October 25, 1872.

205 *The Clinton Age*, April 17, 1874.

206 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 18, 1873.

207 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 29, 1874.

208 *The Clinton Age*, November 12, 1875.

209 Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 239.

210 *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, January 7, February 11, 1874; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 243.

211 Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp, 268, 269; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1874.

212 Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 269.

213 *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, January 7, February 11, 1874.

214 *The Chicago Weekly Tribune*, February 11, 1874.

215 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 25, 1874.

216 Buck's *The Granger Movement*, pp. 238-278. — See especially pp. 239-255, 260-267, 270-273.

CHAPTER VIII

217 Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, p. 162, Vol. VII, p. 56.

218 Commons's *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 33-42 (especially note 8 at bottom of p. 34); Usher's *The Greenback Movement of 1875-1884 and Wisconsin's Part in It*, pp. 6-9; White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 380, 381 (see references under note 225); *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 15, 1875.

219 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, pp. 731, 732.

220 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, pp. 473-477.

221 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, pp. 536-539.

222 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1871, pp. 751, 752.

223 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1871, p. 494.

224 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1872*, pp. 211, 212.

225 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1872*, pp. 210-212; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, pp. 773-775.

226 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 217.

227 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 503.

228 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1872, p. 665.

229 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 238-240.

230 *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1873, pp. 471, 472.

231 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1875, pp. 479, 480.

232 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), July 30, 1877.

233 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, p. 620.

234 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 750-752.

235 Rhodes's *The Railroad Riots of 1877* in *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol. L, pp. 86-96; McNeill's *The Labor Movement*, pp. 154-163.

236 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), July 30, 1877.

237 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 3, 1877.

CHAPTER IX

238 Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VI, pp. 160-162, 164, 165, 193, 194.

239 Buck's *Independent Parties in the Western States* in *Turner Essays in American History*, p. 160 and note; Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 98 and note.

240 The letter from Iowa was from Mr. D. A. Mahoney of the *Dubuque Telegraph*.

241 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 26, 1874; *The American Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1874, p. 415.

242 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 14, 1874.

243 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 11, 12, 13, 14, 1875.

244 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), March 25, September 10, 1875; *Sioux City Weekly Times*, April 24, 1875.

245 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 26, 1875.

246 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), January 11, 1876.

247 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), February 16, 1876; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 25, March 24, 1876; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 392; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 808; Usher's *The Greenback Movement of 1875-1884 and Wisconsin's Part in It*, p. 30 .

248 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 18, 1876.

249 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 224; Williams's *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. I, p. 388.

250 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 782; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1876*, p. 224.

251 *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 19, 1876.

252 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 26, 1876.

253 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 212.

254 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 2, 1876.

255 *Political Pamphlets*, 1877-1878, Vols. XXIII, XXIV, in the Library of the Chicago Historical Society.

256 *Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Vol. V, p. 60; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 579; *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 27, 1896.

257 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, pp. 204-206.

258 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, pp. 599, 600, 602, 604, 605.

259 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, pp. 410, 411; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 3, 1876.

260 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, pp. 392, 393.

261 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1876, p. 437.

262 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 1, 1876.

263 See references under note 239 above; Campbell's *The Hayes-Tilden Contest* in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1909, pp. 184-189; Haworth's *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876*, pp. 218, 219.

[264] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, p. 384.

[265] *Indianapolis Journal* quoted in *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 3, 1876.

CHAPTER X

[266] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 488, 489; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), September 12, 1877.

[267] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 634-636.

[268] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 620, 621.

[269] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, p. 553.

[270] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1877, pp. 565, 566.

[271] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, p. 168; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 1, 1878.

[272] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, pp. 807, 808.

[273] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, p. 168.

[274] Usher's *The Greenback Movement of 1875-1884 and Wisconsin's Part in It*, p. 54.

[275] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 807.

[276] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 808; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1880*, p. 201.

[277] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, pp. 431-434.

[278] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, pp. 161, 162.

[279] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, pp. 441-443.

[280] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, p. 163; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 560.

[281] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 668.

[282] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 577; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, pp. 220, 221.

[283] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 514; McCall's *The Life of Thomas Brackett Reed*, p. 85.

[284] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, pp. 514, 516; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, p. 162.

[285] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 220.

[286] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, pp. 163, 164.

287 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1878*, pp. 166, 167.

CHAPTER XI

288 *Congressional Record*, 46th Congress, 1st session, March 18 and May 13, 1879, Vol. IX, Part 1, p. 5.

289 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 808.

290 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879, pp. 838, 839; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 21, 1879.

291 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), March 28, 1879.

292 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 17, 1879.

293 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879, pp. 580, 581.

294 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), November 15, 17, December 3, 10, 18, 19, 23, 1879; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 26, 1879, January 2-30, 1880; *Iowa State Press*, January 28, 1880; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879, pp. 581-587; 1880, pp. 486, 487; *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1913, p. 637; McCall's *The Life of Thomas Brackett Reed*, pp. 86, 87.

295 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1879, pp. 602-605.

296 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1880*, p. 201.

297 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 12, 1878.

298 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 16, 1880.

299 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 12, 1880.

300 There was in Canada for thirty years before 1861 from time to time a demand for a government issue of paper currency. "The first systematic and persistent advocate" was the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, of Hamilton, Ontario, who in the early sixties urged a national system of protection in connection with an irredeemable paper currency. His views received little attention until the severe depression from 1873 to 1879 "disposed the minds of many for the favorable reception of plausible remedies for the existing evils." Mr. Buchanan's plan was taken up by "a small but active number of fairly influential people", who were probably "more or less influenced by the developments and experiences in the United States." Mr. Buchanan was "an active promoter" and he was assisted by Mr. William Wallace, M. P., who in 1879 submitted to Parliament a series of resolutions in favor of the new currency proposals. No action was taken, and in the following year Mr. Wallace again brought up the subject in connection with the extension of the Dominion note issue. From 1878 to 1880 considerable discussion took place in the newspapers of central Ontario.

"The term 'beaverback' was not commonly used to designate the proposed issue of irredeemable Government notes. The term, however, was evidently suggested by the American one of 'greenback'. The beaver, before Confederation, was the national emblem of the old Province of Canada, being engraved on its postage stamps, and was, therefore, evidently suggested by the friends of the Currency League as a fitting emblem for the backs of the proposed Government notes." — From a letter by Mr. Adam Shortt of Ottawa, Canada, to the writer.

301 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880, pp. 696, 697; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 18, 1880; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1880*, pp. 195, 196; Usher's *The Greenback Movement of 1875-1884 and Wisconsin's Part in It*, pp. 58, 59; *The Daily Inter Ocean* (Chicago), June 9-11, 1880; *The Weaver Papers* in possession of Mr. J. B. Weaver, Des Moines, Iowa.

302 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 21, 1880.

303 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 16, October 1, 1880.

304 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1880, pp. 696, 697.

305 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1880*, pp. 196-198; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 9, 1880. Mr. Weaver was referred to as "Wordy Weaver".

306 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 22, 1880.

307 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 6, September 3, 24, 1880.

308 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 29, 1880.

309 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 15, 1880.

310 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1882*, p. 186.

311 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 19, 1880.

312 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 26, 1880.

313 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), July 5, 1878.

314 *The Independent* (New York), Vol. LXXVII, p. 30.

315 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 28, 1880.

316 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 10, 17, 1882.

317 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1882, p. 809.

318 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 6, 1880.

[319] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 8, 1881, editorial on "America and the Commune".

[320] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), May 8, 1878.

[321] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), July 15, 1878.

[322] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 76.

[323] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 530.

[324] Bryce's *The American Commonwealth* (Revised edition, 1910), Vol. II, Ch. XC, p. 448.

[325] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 17, May 12, 1882.

[326] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 12, 1882.

[327] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 17, 1882; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1882*, p. 158; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1882, p. 82.

[328] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 4, 1881.

[329] *Sioux City Daily Times*, April 2, 1883. In December, 1882, the same paper published a list of rich men under the caption "Wealth of our American Nobility". In March, 1883, it devoted two columns to an "Oriental Ball" given by Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Vanderbilt which was said to have cost $250,000.

[330] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1884*, p. 219. The States were Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Michigan, Nebraska, Wisconsin, California, Kansas, Minnesota, Oregon, New York, Massachusetts, Maryland, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. *The Weller Papers*, belonging to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, contain a printed call for a conference at Chicago, July 4, 1883.

[331] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1884*, p. 219; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1884, p. 773.

[332] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1884*, pp. 215-218; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1884, pp. 773, 774.

[333] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1884*, pp. 229-239.

[334] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1878, p. 530.

[335] Butler's *Autobiography and Personal Reminiscences*, pp. 919-984. "Butler's Book" is a characteristic product and reveals very clearly his strength and his weaknesses. His comment (p. 976) upon the refusal of Harvard to give him the customary degree usually conferred upon the Gov-

ernor of Massachusetts illustrates his qualities: "I can read my diploma in the Latin tongue, as perhaps one half of my predecessors in the executive office who got the degree could not do." He also adds that he already had the degree from Williams College and in 1892 held the same degree from colleges in three New England States.

336 *The Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 13, 1874.

337 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 13, 1893.

338 *The Review of Reviews,* Vol. VII, p. 12.

339 Judson's *American Politics — a Study of Four Careers* (Blaine, Lamar, Hayes, Butler) in *The Review of Reviews,* Vol. VII, pp. 169-173.

CHAPTER XII

340 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 26, 1876.

341 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 19, 1876.

342 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa,* a manuscript thesis in the Library of the State University of Iowa.

343 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa; The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 19, 1876.

344 *The Clinton Age,* May 26, 1876.

345 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

346 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa; The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 29, 1876.

347 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

348 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

349 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa; The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 20, 1877.

350 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 3, 1877. This man should not be confused with United States Senator Jones who represented Iowa from 1848 to 1859.

351 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 21, 1877.

352 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 14, 1877.

353 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 17, September 14, 1877.

354 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 14, 1877.

[355] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), October 18, 1877.

[356] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 29, 30, 1877.

[357] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Iowa Official Register*, 1913-1914, p. 518.

[358] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), October 20, 1877.

[359] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 21, 1877.

[360] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), January 20, 1878.

[361] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), January 28, 1878.

[362] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 22, 1878.

[363] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 8, 1878.

[364] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 1, 1878.

[365] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 19, 1878; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), April 11, 1878.

[366] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 19, 1878.

[367] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 19, 1878.

[368] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 26, May 10, May 17, 1878.

[369] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 17, 1878.

[370] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 12, 1878.

[371] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 23, 30, 1878; *The Weaver Papers* in the possession of Mr. J. B. Weaver, Des Moines, Iowa.

[372] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 26, 1878.

[373] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 26, 1878.

[374] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 11, 1878.

[375] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 18, 1878.

[376] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 21, 1878.

[377] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 28, 1878.

[378] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 5, 1878.

[379] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 5, 1878.

[380] *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 12, 1878.

381 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), October 1, 3, 1878; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 4, 1878.

382 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 15, 1878; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), November 12, 1878; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

383 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 11, 1878.

384 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 25, 1878.

385 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 2, 1878.

386 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 19, 1878.

387 *Daily Press* (Iowa City), October 23, 1878. Hoggatt received 12,338 votes; Carpenter received 16,489 votes; and the Democratic candidate received 1,202 votes.

388 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 20, 1878.

389 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 10, 1879.

390 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 17, 1879.

391 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 21, 1879.

392 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 14, 1879.

393 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 21, 1879.

394 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 11, 1879.

395 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 6, 1879; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), May 29, 1879.

396 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 6, 1879.

397 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 6, 1879; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), May 29, 1879.

398 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 6, 1879; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), December 26, 1878, contains Irish's opinion of Ingalls.

399 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 30, 1879; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 20, 1879.

400 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 18, August 15, 1879; *Daily Press* (Iowa City), August 12, 1879.

401 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 29, 1879.

402 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 19, 1879.

403 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 1, 1879.

404 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 7, 1879; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

CHAPTER XIII

405 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 9, 1880.

406 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), January 7, 1880.

407 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 7, 1880.

408 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 30, 1880.

409 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 28, 1880; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

410 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 28, 1880.

411 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 6, 1880.

412 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), October 13, 1880; see references under notes 308 and 309.

413 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

414 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 19, December 10, 1880.

415 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 12, 19, 1880.

416 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 3, 1880.

417 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), February 9, 1881.

418 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), June 1, 1881.

419 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 18, 1881.

420 Mr. Gue in his *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 108, says this was the first woman nominated for a State office by any political party in Iowa. He gives the name as Mrs. A. M. Swain of Fort Dodge. *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 10, 1881, gives the name as Mary E. Nash of Des Moines.

421 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 10, 1881; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

422 Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

423 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), October 5, 1881.

424 *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), March 29, April 5, 1882.

425 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 31, 1882.

[426] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 7, 1882.

[427] *Sioux City Daily Times*, March 3, 1882; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 14, 1882.

[428] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 28, 1882.

[429] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[430] *The Weller Papers* in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society; printed circular from "Office of the Chairman of the Greenback Press Association of Iowa, Maquoketa, June 24th, 1882".

[431] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 15, 1882; *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), December 13, 1882.

[432] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 20, 1882.

[433] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 17, 1882.

[434] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), February 21, 1883. John P. Irish had removed to California in September, 1882.

[435] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa; Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), July 18, 1883.

[436] Fairall's *Manual of Iowa Politics*, Vol. I, Part IV, pp. 79-90.

[437] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[438] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), May 28, 1884.

[439] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), September 3, 1884; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[440] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), September 10, 1884.

[441] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), August 1, 1883.

[442] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[443] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[444] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), December 10, 1884; Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa;* Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 132.

[445] *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), October 8, 1884.

[446] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), July 15, August 26, 1885.

[447] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), November 25, 1885.

[448] Quotation from *The Des Moines Leader* in the *Iowa State Press* (Iowa City), November 11, 1885.

[449] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[450] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[451] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa.*

[452] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Iowa Official Register,* 1889, p. 192, 1890, p. 190.

[453] *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye,* August 10, 1890.

[454] Ruggles's *The Greenback Movement in Iowa*; *Iowa Official Register,* 1890, p. 190, 1891, p. 174.

[455] Ruggles's *The Economic Basis of the Greenback Movement in Iowa and Wisconsin* in *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association,* Vol. VI, pp. 142-165.

CHAPTER XIV

[456] Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd,* Vol. I, p. 139; Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator,* pp. viii, ix.

[457] See chapter XIII above.

[458] George's *The Life of Henry George,* Vol. X, p. 449, in the *Complete Works of Henry George* (library edition).

[459] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator,* p. 101.

[460] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1884,* p. 219.

[461] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1878, p. 808.

[462] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1887, p. 742.

[463] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1885, pp. 516-518.

[464] Johnson's *My Story,* pp. 48-58.

[465] See chapter XIII above.

[466] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia,* 1886, pp. 12-15; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd,* Vol. I, Ch. V; Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator,* pp. 373-426; Russell's *These Shifting Scenes,* Ch. VI; Whitlock's *Forty Years of It,* pp. 37-41; *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), July 1, 1893.

[467] Hughan's *American Socialism of the Present Day,* pp. 37, 38. These were the last instances of fusion. There were Independent candidates in 1892 and afterwards.

[468] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, p. 778.

[469] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator*, pp. 426-431.

[470] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator*, pp. 433, 434.

[471] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, p. 778; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1888*, p. 189. The name is given as Alson J. Streeter in *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 16, 1891.

[472] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1888*, p. 190.

[473] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, p. 778.

[474] Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (second edition), p. 221.

[475] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, pp. 648, 649.

[476] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1887, pp. 550, 552, 555.

[477] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 20, 21.

[478] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator*, p. 313.

[479] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator*, pp. 347-349.

[480] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 778, 779.

[481] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 778, 782; *The Weller Papers*, letter from Streeter to Weller, dated May 28, 1888.

[482] George's *The Life of Henry George*, Vol. X, pp. 511-513, in the *Complete Works of Henry George* (library edition).

[483] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, p. 782; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1890*, p. 273.

[484] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1890*, p. 273.

[485] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1886*, p. 236.

[486] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, pp. 560, 575, 576, 605, 647, 732, 750, 834.

[487] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1888*, p. 191; *The Clinton Age*, May 30, 1890; *The Weekly Iowa State Register*, October 28, 1892. One Greenbacker was elected to the Mississippi legislature in 1891 besides seven Independents. — *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 533.

[488] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, p. 840. *A Biographical Congressional Directory*, 1774-1903, p. 805.

[489] *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1887, pp. 506, 642, 643, 659, 411, 527, 463. Arranged in the order of the States in table.

[490] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 9, 40, 766, 767.

[491] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 181, 443, 462, 550, 559, 567, 587, 671, 847.

[492] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 559, 560.

[493] Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, p. 120.

[494] Buchanan's *The Story of a Labor Agitator*, p. 138.

[495] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 241, 521, 609, 611, 678.

[496] McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1890*, pp. 265, 266.

[497] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 285.

[498] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1888, pp. 39, 40.

[499] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1889, p. 36.

[500] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 23, 24.

[501] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1889, p. 680.

[502] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 699, 700.

CHAPTER XV

[503] Gladden's *The Embattled Farmers* in *The Forum*, Vol. X, pp. 315, 316.

[504] Gladden's *The Embattled Farmers* in *The Forum*, Vol. X, p. 316; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 8, 1891.

[505] Gladden's *The Embattled Farmers* in *The Forum*, Vol. X, pp. 316-318; Walker's *The Farmers' Movement* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, pp. 790, 791.

[506] Goodloe's *Western Farm Mortgages* in *The Forum*, Vol. X, pp. 352-354.

[507] Keasbey's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, p. 580.

[508] Keasbey's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 580-583.

[509] Walker's *The Farmers' Movement* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, p. 791.

[510] Keasbey's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 578, 584, 585; Gleed's *The True Significance of Western Unrest* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 255, 256. — See letter about the "gold-bug" written by the Populist Secretary of State of Kansas to the Chancellor of the State University.

[511] Keasbey's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, p. 586.

[512] Walker's *The Farmers' Movement* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, p. 792.

[513] Walker's *The Farmers' Movement* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, p. 792.

[514] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, pp. 330-332.

[515] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1889, p. 307.

[516] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 263, 264; 1893, p. 294.

[517] See earlier chapters.

[518] Walker's *The Farmers' Movement* in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. IV, p. 793; Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 282.

[519] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 282, 283; McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 196.

[520] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 283, 284; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 299; McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 196.

[521] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 284; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1886, p. 42; McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 196.

[522] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 284, 285.

[523] See Chapters VI and VII, above.

[524] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 285-287; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 299.

[525] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 288; McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 196.

[526] *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 21, 1890, January 23, February 13, March 13, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 16, March 13, 20, 1891.

[527] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 287-289; McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 196.

[528] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 289, 290; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 300. *The Weller Papers* contain a letter from the secretary of the National Citizens' Alliance, dated February 9, 1891, stating the purpose of the organization.

[529] McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 137, 138; Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 291, 292; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 299, 300.

[530] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 292-294; *Personal Scrap Book* in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. XIII.

[531] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 301. The figures are for the "Southern" Alliance.

CHAPTER XVI

[532] Tracy's *Rise and Doom of the Populist Party* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 243, 244.

[533] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 306.

[534] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 307; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 301.

[535] Dewey's *National Problems* in *The American Nation: A History*, Vol. XXIV, p. 181.

[536] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 301.

[537] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 319, 320.

[538] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 365, 366.

[539] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 625.

[540] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 778, 779.

[541] Gleed's *Is New York More Civilized than Kansas* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVII, pp. 217-234; Gleed's *Mr. Godkin on the West: A Protest* in *The Forum*, Vol. XXI, pp. 641-650; *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), April 7, 1894; Steevens's in *The Land of the Dollar*, p. 70, described Kansas as the "drunken helot of American Politics."

[542] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 471, 472.

[543] *Clinton Weekly Age*, July 29, 1890.

[544] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 584, 585.

[545] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 782, 783.

[546] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 556, 557; *Clinton Weekly Age*, July 18, 1890.

[547] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 553.

[548] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 440.

[549] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 629.

[550] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 153, 154.

[551] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 429.

[552] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1889, p. 307.

[553] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 248.

[554] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 299.

[555] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 308.

[556] Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 308, 309.

[557] See pp. 239-243, above.

[558] *Clinton Weekly Age*, December 12, 1890.

[559] *Clinton Weekly Age*, December 19, 1890.

[560] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 30, 1891.

[561] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 832; Bliss's *The New Encyclopaedia of Social Reform*, pp. 888, 889.

[562] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 22, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 22, 29, 1891.

[563] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 22, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 22, 1891.

[564] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 29, 1891.

[565] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 22, 1891; Gilman's *Socialism and the American Spirit*, pp. 191-221, see especially pp. 197, 201, 202.

[566] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 19, 1891.

[567] *Clinton Weekly Age*, February 13, 1891.

[568] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 16, 1891.

[569] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 364; *Clinton Weekly Age*,

March 13, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 13, 20, 1891. The Republicans cheered Taubeneck's loyalty. After voting he dropped into his seat and "burst into tears. His sincere sorrow no one doubted".

570 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 30, 1891; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 401.

571 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 800; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 20, 1891.

572 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1891, p. 800; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 20, 1891.

573 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 299.

574 *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 29, 1891.

575 *Clinton Weekly Age*, September 4, 1891.

576 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 20, 1891; *Personal Scrap Book* in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. XI, and letters dated March 23, 26, and April 1, 8, 1892.

577 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 20, 1891.

578 *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 20, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 20, 27, 1891.

579 *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 20, 1891.

580 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 27, 1891.

581 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, p. 374.

582 *Clinton Weekly Age*, January 29, 1892; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 5, 1892.

A letter from Frances E. Willard, February 2, 1892, urges the importance of getting the "Consensus of Opinion" adopted. — See the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society.

583 *Clinton Weekly Age*, February 26, 1892; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 4, 1892; the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, letters dated February 22, 29, and March 1, 1892.

CHAPTER XVII

584 *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, letters dated June 17 and 20, 1892; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VI, p. 9; Vol. XII, p. 3.

585 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 8, 1892.

586 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, p. 753; *The Weekly Iowa State*

Register (Des Moines), July 8, 1892; McVey's *The Populist Movement in Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 143-150; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1892*, pp. 269-271; *Personal Scrap Book* in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. XIII.

587 Tracy's *Menacing Socialism in the Western States* in *The Forum*, Vol. XV, p. 332.

588 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VI, p. 9.

589 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VI, pp. 135, 136; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 3-5.

590 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 30, 1892.

591 *The Weaver Papers* in the possession of Mr. J. B. Weaver, Des Moines, Iowa; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 30, 1892.

592 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 21, 1892; *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), May 14, 1892.

593 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 705, 706.

594 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 342, 343.

595 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 209-211; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 15, 1892.

596 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VI, p. 518; Vol. XV, pp. 89, 90.

597 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 370, 371.

598 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 755, 756; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1894*, p. 272.

599 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1894*, p. 274.

600 McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1894*, p. 273.

601 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VI, p. 517.

602 Quoted from the *New York Tribune* in *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 25, 1892.

603 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 18, 1892; *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 18, 1892.

604 See letter from H. E. Taubeneck to Donnelly, November 26, 1892, in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 25, December 23, 30, 1892, January 6, 1893.

605 *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 312, 673.

606 *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 28, 1892.

607 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 3, August 4, 1893; *Clinton Weekly Age*, October 6, 1893.

608 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, p. 503; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 10, 1893.

609 Elected to Congress as an Anti-Monopolist in 1874.

610 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 10, 1893.

611 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 30.

612 Algernon S. Paddock, United States Senator, 1875-1881, 1887-1893.

613 Tracy's *Rise and Doom of the Populist Party* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 247, 248.

614 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 24, 1892.

615 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 3, 1893; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, pp. 420-422.

616 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, pp. 176, 178.

617 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, pp. 222, 224.

618 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. VIII, pp. 629, 649; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, pp. 410, 478, 591.

619 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 4, 1892.

620 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 8, 1892.

621 *Clinton Weekly Age*, March 2, 1894.

622 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. IX, pp. 649, 650, Vol. X, pp. 4, 5, 63-66; Stead's *Coxeyism* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 47-59.

623 A. J. Streeter described President Cleveland in 1892 as "a fossilized reminiscence." — *The Weekly Iowa State Register*, July, 1, 1892.

624 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 134.

625 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1894, pp. 728-731; McPherson's *A Hand-Book of Politics for 1894*, pp. 253-259; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 132-137, 299-301, 603, 604; Fletcher's *The Railway War* in *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. LXXIV, pp. 534-541; Robinson's *The Humiliating Report of the Strike Commission* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 523-531; *Report on the Chicago Strike of June-July, 1894*; Bacon's *The Railroad Strike in California* in *The Yale Review*, Vol. III, pp. 241-250; *The Railroad Strike of 1894* (pamphlet).

626 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 7, 10, 11; *The Senate in the Light of History* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, pp. 275, 276. The Populist Senators are classed as "oddities and accidents."

627 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 8. See the writer's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. X, pp. 272, 273.

628 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 9.

629 Quoted from the writer's *The New Sectionalism* in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. X, pp. 279, 280; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1894, pp. 5, 6, 392, 393, 490, 491, 506, 507, 552, 553, 719.

630 McVey's *The Populist Movement* in *Economic Studies*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 197, 198; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 595-597, 599, 600, 621-625, Vol. XI, p. 681; Townsend's *Adoph Sutro: Mayor-Elect of San Francisco* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 626-629.

CHAPTER XVIII

631 *Clinton Weekly Age*, February 15, 22, March 8, June 7, 1895.

632 *Clinton Weekly Age*, March 1, 1895.

633 *Clinton Weekly Age*, March 8, 1895.

634 *Clinton Sunday Age*, March 29, 1895.

635 *Clinton Weekly Age*, October 5, 1894; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 249-251; White's *The Life of Lyman Trumbull*, pp. 413-415.

636 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XII, pp. 646, 647, 666; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, October 29, November 8, 1895.

637 Roosevelt's *The Issues of 1896* in *The Century*, Vol. LI, p. 69.

638 Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (second edition), pp. 131, 132.

639 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 667.

640 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 667.

641 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 192-204; Wellman's *Mr. Kohlsaat of Chicago, and His Part in the Political History-Making of 1896* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XV, pp. 41-43.

642 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 667, 760-762; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 3-10; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, June 19, 23, 1896; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 19, 1896; Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp, 190-208.

643 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 667.

644 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 148, 149.

645 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 135-137; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, August 11, 1896.

646 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 133, Vol. XV, pp. 89, 90; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, July 3, 1896.

647 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 667.

648 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 138, 139; Abbot's *William Jennings Bryan* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 161-173; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 765, 766.

649 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 140.

650 General references for the Democratic Convention are: *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 667, 762-766; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 133-141, 174-176 (Bryan's "Cross of Gold" Speech); *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, June 23, 1896; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 10, 17, 24, 1896; Leupp's *The Dark Horse Convention* in *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp. 297-302.

651 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 142, 265, 299, 300, 303; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, July 21, 1896; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 259, 260. See letters from H. E. Taubeneck to Donnelly, June 22, July 29, and from Donnelly to Taubeneck, November 7, 1896, in the *Donnelly Collection* of the Minnesota Historical Society. A letter from J. A. Edgerton, Secretary of the Populist National Committee to Donnelly, October 14, 1896, refers to his "radical middle of the road stand at St. Louis".

652 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 265, 266; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 768; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, July 24, 1896; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 24, 31, 1896.

653 *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, August 4, 1896.

654 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 265, 266, 391, 392.

655 Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States* (second edition), pp. 166, 167.

656 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 767, 768.

657 Lloyd's *The Populists at St. Louis* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 298, 299; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 260-264.

658 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 395.

659 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 668, 768, 769; *The Review*

of Reviews, Vol. XIV, pp. 259, 260, 394-396; Dunnell's *The Rise of the "National Democracy"* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 434-445.

660 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 209-227; Bryan's *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896*; Steevens's *The Land of the Dollar*, pp. 164-175; Beard's *Contemporary American History*, pp. 164-198.

661 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 668-670; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 407 (map); Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 217, 218, 221.

662 *McEwen's Letter* (San Francisco), May 4, 1895; Harvey's *Coin's Financial School; The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XI, pp. 627, 675-679, Vol. XIV, pp. 131, 132.

663 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 671.

664 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 397, 514 (map), 519, 558; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 671; Bryan's *The First Battle: A Story of the Campaign of 1896*, p. 604 (maps, pp. 384 and 600).

665 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 441, 671; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 397, 519, 558; Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 215, 216; Steevens's *The Land of the Dollar*, pp. 124-132.

666 Woodburn's *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States*, pp. 409, 410; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 672, 673.

667 Halstead's *Marcus A. Hanna* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 421-426; Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 209-227.

668 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, p. 223.

669 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, p. 220.

670 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 209, 226; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 262, 518.

671 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, p. 226.

672 Hillis's *An Outlook Upon the Agrarian Propaganda in the West* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 304, 305.

673 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 673.

674 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 644 (map).

675 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 673.

676 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, pp. 673, 770-774; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 643-647, 653, 661, Vol. XV, p. 18; McKee's *The*

National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties (Third Edition), pp. 326-328.

677 Johnson's *My Story*, pp. 108, 109; Steevens's *The Land of the Dollar*, p. 84.

678 George's *Life of Henry George*, Vol. X, pp. 581-583, in *Complete Works of Henry George* (library edition).

679 Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. II, pp. 19, 20.

680 Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. I, pp. 264, 265.

681 Parson's *The Issue of 1896* in *The Arena*, Vol. XVI, p. 891.

CHAPTER XIX

682 Tracy's *Rise and Doom of the Populist Party* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVI, p. 246.

683 Clark's *The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, p. 540.

684 Clark's *The History of Liquor Legislation in Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. VI, pp. 503-604.

685 *Iowa Official Register*, 1892, p. 172.

686 *Iowa Official Register*, 1894, p. 107.

687 Dr. Charles Beardsley, editor of *The Burlington Weekly Hawk-Eye*.

688 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), October 26, 1889.

689 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 445, 446; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1890, pp. 1-83.

690 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopedia*, 1890, pp. 446; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1890, p. 168.

691 *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, pp. 446, 447.

692 *Iowa Official Register*, 1891, pp. 84-87; *Appleton's Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 448.

693 *Iowa Official Register*, 1891, pp. 174, 175.

694 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 14, 1890.

695 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), May 17, 1890.

696 *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, p. 198; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 449; Drew's *The Present Farmers' Movement* in the *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. VI, p. 308.

[697] *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, pp. 195, 197; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890, p. 449.

[698] *Clinton Weekly Age*, September 16, 1890.

[699] Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 103-107; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 8, 1881, January 6, 13, 1882.

[700] *Clinton Daily Age*, December 12, 1890.

[701] *Clinton Weekly Age*, February 6, 1891.

[702] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 27, March 6, 1891; *Clinton Weekly Age*, March 3, 1891.

[703] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 6, 1891.

[704] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), March 7, 1891.

[705] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 27, 1891.

[706] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 1, 1891.

[707] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 1, 1891.

[708] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 8, 1891. There is a copy of the call in *The Weller Papers* under date of April 20, 1891.

[709] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 12, 1891.

[710] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891.

[711] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891.

[712] Mr. Van Wyck was the Populist candidate for Governor of Nebraska, 1892.

[713] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891.

[714] *Iowa Official Register*, 1892, pp. 171, 172; *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 5, 1891; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891.

[715] *Iowa Official Register*, 1892, p. 170; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891; *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 5, 1891.

[716] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 5, 1891.

[717] *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 9, 1891.

[718] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 13, 1891.

[719] *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 12, 1891.

[720] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 11, 1891.

[721] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 16, 1891.

722 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 23, 1891.

723 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 30, 1891.

724 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 6, 1891.

725 *Iowa Official Register*, 1892, pp. 214, 233; *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 6, 1891.

726 Horace Boies was the only Democratic State officer elected in 1889.

CHAPTER XX

727 Irwin's *Is Iowa a Doubtful State?* in *The Forum*, Vol. XIII, pp. 257-264; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. V, p. 270.

728 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. V, p. 519.

729 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 10, 1892.

730 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 17, 1892.

731 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 10, 1892.

732 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 17, 1892; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1892, p. 359; *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 10, 1892.

733 See Chapter XVII, above.

734 *Clinton Weekly Age*, July 8, 1892.

735 *Clinton Weekly Age*, July 12, 1892.

736 *Clinton Weekly Age*, July 22, 1892.

737 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 29, 1892.

738 *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, pp. 112, 113.

739 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 2, 1892.

740 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 21, 1892.

741 *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, pp. 202-204.

742 *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, pp. 193-198.

743 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 19, 1892.

744 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), November 12, 1892.

745 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 29, 1892.

746 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), December 2, 1892.

747 *Clinton Weekly Age*, December 16, 1892.

748 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 3, 1893.

749 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 10, June 16, 1893.

750 *Iowa Official Register*, 1893, p. 108; 1892, p. 168.

751 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), March 11, 1893.

752 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), May 6, 1893.

753 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 10, 1893.

754 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 3, 1893.

755 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 14, August 4, 1893.

756 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 28, 1893.

757 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 3, 1893.

758 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), January 7, 1893.

759 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 16, 1894.
Two articles by Iowa men upon Professor Herron are McCowan's *A Misunderstood Man* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. II, pp. 204-208; and Beardsley's *Professor Herron* in *The Arena*, Vol. XV, pp. 784-796.

760 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), June 23, 1894.

761 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 31, 1893.

762 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 3, 1891.

763 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 13, 1891.

764 *Clinton Weekly Age*, December 1, 1893.

765 *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), December 2, 1893.

766 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 8, 1893; *Clinton Weekly Age*, September 8, 1893.

767 *Iowa Official Register*, 1894, p. 106; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, p. 410.

768 *Iowa Official Register*, 1894, pp. 105, 186, gives J. E. or J. T. Anderson as the candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

769 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 8, 1893.

770 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 8, 1893.

771 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 6, 1893.

772 *Iowa Official Register*, 1894, p. 186; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1893, p. 410.

[773] *Clinton Weekly Age*, November 10, 1893.

CHAPTER XXI

[774] *Clinton Weekly Age*, April 20, 1894; *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 17, 1894.

[775] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 4, 1894.

[776] General Weaver devoted almost his entire time to the army while it was in Des Moines. He referred to it as "a revolution without arms". See *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 1, 1894; Weaver's *The Commonweal Crusade* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. I, pp. 590-594.

[777] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 4, 1894.

[778] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, pp. 57-59, gives the route of Kelly's army from April 3 to June 14, 1894. *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 15 to May 20, 1894, contains the detail of events during the time the army spent in Iowa. See also *The National Guard* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. II, pp. 418, 419.

[779] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), May 26, 1894.

[780] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 43.

[781] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 22, 1894, contains official documents.

[782] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 20, 1894.

[783] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 21, 1894. See also interview with E. St. John, general manager of the Rock Island Railroad. — Hubbard's *Kelly's Tramps* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. I, pp. 588-590.

[784] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 17, 1894.

[785] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 1, 2, 1894.

[786] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 11, 1894.

[787] Editorial comment in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. I, pp. 612-614.

[788] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 29, 1894.

[789] *The National Guard* in *The Midland Monthly*, Vol. II, pp. 419-421; *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 4, 5, 6, 1894.

[790] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 3, 4, 1894.

[791] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 12, 1894.

[792] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 11, 1894.

[793] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 15, 1894.

CHAPTER XXII

[794] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 22, 1894; *Clinton Weekly Age*, March 23, 1894.

[795] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), March 23, 1894.

[796] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), April 14, 1894.

[797] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 1, 1894.

[798] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 2, 1894; *Clinton Weekly Age*, August 3, 1894.

[799] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894.

[800] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894.

[801] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1894, pp. 381, 382; *Iowa Official Register*, 1895, p. 103.

[802] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894.

[803] Croly's *Progressive Democracy*, pp. 230, 231; *The New Republic*, Vol. I, No. 12, p. 4.

[804] Sumner's *The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over* in *The Forum*, Vol. XVII, p. 92.

[805] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894.

[806] *Iowa Official Register*, 1895, pp. 184, 185.

[807] *Iowa Official Register*, 1895, pp. 186-191.

[808] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, November 6, 1894.

[809] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. X, p. 624.

[810] *Iowa Official Register*, 1895, pp. 186-191.

[811] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 17, June 14, 1895; *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 7, 1895; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1895, p. 369.

[812] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 7, 1895; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1895, p. 369.

[813] *Clinton Weekly Age*, June 7, 1895.

[814] *Clinton Weekly Age*, May 17, 1895.

[815] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 14, 1895.

[816] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 14, 1895; *Iowa Official Register*, 1896, p. 142.

[817] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 14, 1895.

[818] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 2, 1895.

[819] *Clinton Weekly Age*, April 5, 1895.

[820] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), June 14, 1895.

[821] *Clinton Weekly Age*, August 9, 1895.

[822] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 9, 1895; *Clinton Weekly Age*, August 9, 1895; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1895, p. 370.

[823] *Iowa Official Register*, 1896, p. 222.

[824] *Iowa Official Register*, 1894, p. 186.

[825] *Iowa Official Register*, 1895, p. 184.

CHAPTER XXIII

[826] *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 362.

[827] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 24, 1896.

[828] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, May 19, 1896.

[829] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 22, 1896; *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, May 22, 1896; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 362.

[830] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 3, 1896.

[831] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 10, 1896.

[832] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 17, 1896.

[833] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 17, 1896.

[834] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 31, 1896.

[835] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), July 24, 1896.

[836] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, July 31, 1896.

[837] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 7, 1896.

[838] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 14, 1896.

[839] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, August 14, 1896.

[840] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), August 28, 1896.

[841] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 18, 1896; *Iowa Official Register*, 1897, pp. 137-139.

[842] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 526.

[843] Hillis's *An Outlook Upon the Agrarian Propaganda in the West* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 304.

[844] Hillis's *An Outlook Upon the Agrarian Propaganda in the West* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, pp. 304, 305.

[845] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, October 9, 1896.

[846] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), October 24, 1896.

[847] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, October 13, 1896.

[848] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, October 16, 1896.

[849] *Iowa Official Register*, 1897, p. 244.

[850] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, November 6, 1896.

[851] *Iowa Official Register*, 1897, pp. 250-255.

[852] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, November 6, 1896.

[853] *Clinton Semi-Weekly Age*, November 6, 1896.

[854] *The Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington), November 28, 1896.

[855] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 6, 1896.

[856] *The Daily Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 5, 1894.

[857] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 2, 1892.

[858] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 2, 1892.

CHAPTER XXIV

[859] Adams's *An Undeveloped Function* in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1901, Vol. I, p. 52.

[860] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 40, 41.

[861] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXII, p. 656; Spahr's *Mr. Bryan, the Democratic Leader, in 1900* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXII, pp. 41-47; Wellman's *The Kansas City Convention* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXII, pp. 175-178.

[862] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXX, p. 133; *The National Democratic Convention at St. Louis* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXX, pp. 186-190.

[863] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 41-43.

[864] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 259-264.

[865] *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 51-53.

[866] *The New Republic*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 12.

[867] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 131.

[868] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 136-138; *The New International Year Book*, 1908, pp. 581, 590, 591.

[869] *The New International Year Book*, 1908, pp. 586, 587.

[870] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, p. 44.

[871] Quoted from the writer's *Forward Movements in Politics since the Civil War* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XI, p. 161.

[872] Abbot's *The New Bryan* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 41-44.

[873] Abbott's *William Jennings Bryan* in *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 66-68.

[874] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 45, 46.

[875] Robinson's *The Decline of the Democratic Party* in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XX, pp. 313-334.

[876] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 40-46.

[877] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, p. 758; *The Weller Papers* contain a printed address to the People's party and Independent voters of the United States, giving an account of the controversies between the fusion and "mid-road" Populists.

[878] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, p. 41.

[879] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, p. 758; *The Weller Papers* contain letters from Jas. H. Ferriss of Joliet, Illinois, chairman of the Populist National Committee, expressing expectation of a large convention at St. Louis on July 4, 1904. The platform drafted there is also preserved.

[880] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. III, pp. 42, 43.

[881] Watson's *Why I am Still a Populist* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 303-306.

[882] McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, p. 758, Vol. III, p. 44.

[883] Sioux City newspapers. A letter from Tom E. Watson, January 24, 1910, to Weller reads as follows: "You ask me what we are to do. Frankly, I don't know. The Democratic party is chaotic; the Republican party is becoming so; the Populist party is dead, and we are all at sea". — *The Weller Papers.*

[884] *Sioux City Tribune*, September 1, 1910.

[885] La Follette's *Autobiography*, Chs. V-VIII; Howe's *Wisconsin: An Experiment in Democracy*, pp. 3-24; Steffens's *The Struggle for Self-Government*, pp. 79-119; Allen's *America's Awakening*, pp. 59-89; Wellman's *The Rise of La Follette* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 299-302.

[886] Wellman's *The Rise of La Follette* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXI, p. 299; *La Follette's Autobiography*, pp. 411, 412, 428.

[887] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXX, pp. 12-14.

[888] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 16; *The New International Year Book*, 1908, pp. 579-581.

[889] Quoted in the *Sioux City Tribune*, June 24, 1908; Taylor's *Industrial Issues at the Chicago Convention* in *Charities*, Vol. XX, pp. 430-432.

[890] McCarthy's *The Wisconsin Idea*, pp. 20-30; Commons's *Labor and Administration*, preface, p. vi.

[891] McCarthy's *The Wisconsin Idea*, pp. 30, 31.

[892] Roberts's *Monarchical Socialism in Germany*, pp. 136-143.

[893] McCarthy's *The Wisconsin Idea*, pp. 287, 288.

CHAPTER XXV

[894] Welliver's *The Epoch of Roosevelt* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 339-346.

[895] Welliver's *The Epoch of Roosevelt* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 339.

[896] *The Outlook*, Vol. XC, p. 14; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 394-397.

[897] Quoted from the writer's *Forward Movements in Politics since the Civil War* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. XI, p. 164.

898 McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, pp. 560, 561; Ripley's *Railroads: Finance and Organization*, pp. 491-498, 554, 555; *Northern Securities Co. vs. United States*, 1904, 193 U. S. 197. During Roosevelt's administration there were twenty-five indictments and eighteen bills in equity compared with five indictments and ten bills in equity during the entire three preceding presidential administrations.

899 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 515-521.

900 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 521, 522.

901 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 522-527; Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. II, pp. 187-238.

902 Lloyd's *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, Vol. II, pp. 236-238.

903 Dixon's *The Interstate Commerce Act as Amended* in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. XXI, pp. 22-25; *La Follette's Autobiography*, pp. 399-418.

904 *Theodore Roosevelt: an Autobiography*, pp. 428-461; Van Hise's *The Conservation of Natural Resources in the United States*, pp. 5-13.

905 Abbott's *A Review of President Roosevelt's Administration* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCI, p. 430.

906 *A Review of President Roosevelt's Administration* in four articles in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCI, pp. 298-307, 350-357, 389-393, 430-434; *Theodore Roosevelt: an Autobiography*, Chs. X-XV.

CHAPTER XXVI

907 Pingree's *Potato Patch Plan* in *Public Opinion*, Vol. XX, pp. 109, 205, 206.

908 Utley and Cutcheon's *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. IV, pp. 227, 228.

909 Utley and Cutcheon's *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. IV, pp. 228, 229; Johnson's *My Story*, pp. 91-97.

910 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XIV, p. 653; *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1896, p. 486; Utley and Cutcheon's *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. IV, p. 230.

911 Utley and Cutcheon's *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State*, Vol. IV, pp. 230-234.

912 *The Outlook*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 465, 466; De Witt's *The Progressive Movement*, pp. 57-60.

913 Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, p. 139.

914 Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, p. 145; Gladden's *Mayor Jones of Toledo* in *The Outlook*, Vol. LXII, pp. 17-21.

915 Gladden's *Mayor Jones of Toledo* in *The Outlook*, Vol. LXII, pp. 20, 21; *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXVII, pp. 674, 675.

916 Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, p. 138.

917 Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, pp. 112-150 gives a sympathetic and interesting account of Jones's unique personality.

918 Steffens's *The Struggle for Self-Government*, p. 183.

919 Whitlock's *Forty Years of It*, pp. 167-173. Johnson's *My Story* is his own account of his career written in the last months of his life when health and fortune had been spent in his struggle for better conditions.

920 Steffens's *Upbuilders*, pp. 285-315; Hendrick's *The Initiative and Referendum and How Oregon Got Them* in *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 235-248.

921 Schafer's *Oregon as a Political Experiment Station* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 172, 173; Steffens's *Upbuilders*, pp. 316-318.

922 Schafer's *Oregon as a Political Experiment Station* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 174, 175.

923 *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 20.

924 McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, p. 590.

925 B. J. Hendrick gives a popular account of Oregon's progressive legislation in *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 235-248, 435-450, 505-519; Eaton's *The Oregon System*.

926 Steffens's *The Struggle for Self-Government*, pp. 3-39; Allen's *America's Awakening*, pp. 122-138; White's *Folk* in *McClure's Magazine*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 115-132.

927 White's *The Old Order Changeth*, p. 30.

928 Steffens's *The Struggle for Self-Government*, pp. 4, 5.

929 Croly's *Marcus Alonzo Hanna*, pp. 417-419.

930 Letter to Theodore Roosevelt from Gifford Pinchot, dated December 31, 1909, and quoted from *The Saturday Evening Post* in the *Sioux City Tribune*, October 6, 1911.

CHAPTER XXVII

931 *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 47, 48; McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government*, Vol. II, p. 193.

[932] *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 49, 139, 140, 165, 166.

[933] *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 34, 35, 321-324; Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, pp. 161-172; Baker's *Is the Republican Party Breaking Up?* in *The American Magazine*, Vol. LXIX, pp. 435-448; Baker's *On the Political Firing Line* in *The American Magazine*, Vol. LXXI, pp. 3-16.

[934] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XL, p. 138.

[935] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XL, p. 262.

[936] *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 35, 36.

[937] *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 50-53; *Mr. Roosevelt in the West* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, pp. 64-67; *The New Nationalism and The Old Moralities* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, pp. 157-160; Roosevelt's *The New Nationalism*, pp. 3-33, 231-244.

[938] *The American Year Book*, 1910, pp. 53, 54.

[939] *The American Year Book*, 1911, p. 69.

[940] *The American Year Book*, 1911, pp. 49-52, 69.

[941] *The American Year Book*, 1911, pp. 69, 70.

[942] *The American Year Book*, 1911, pp. 71, 72.

[943] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 2, 3.

[944] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 3, 4; *La Follette's Autobiography*, Chs. XI-XIII.

[945] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 4, 5.

[946] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 5-10, 61, 62.

[947] *The Progressives' Protest* in *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, p. 478.

[948] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 10-14; *The Chicago Convention, and the Birth of a New Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp. 470-477; Bryan's *A Tale of Two Conventions*, pp. 3-106; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 191-195.

[949] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 14-20; *The Game at Baltimore* in *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp. 522-527; Bryan's *A Tale of Two Conventions*, pp. 109-243.

[950] *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp. 479, 480.

[951] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 20, 21.

[952] *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 23-25; *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp.

857-864; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 268-274; Menkel's *The Progressives at Chicago* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 310-317; Bryan's *A Tale of Two Conventions*, pp. 247-307, contains Mr. Roosevelt's speech, pp. 250-278, and the platform, pp. 279-295; *The Kansas City Star*, August 5-7, 1912, published the platform, speeches, and other features of the convention in a special supplement for general distribution.

953 *The Outlook*, Vol. CI, pp. 861, 862; Kellogg's *The Industrial Platform of the New Party* in *The Survey*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 668-670.

954 *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 34-40.

955 *The American Year Book*, 1912, pp. 41, 42; *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 643-652, 675 (map). The campaign as a whole is covered in Beard's *Contemporary American History*, pp. 344-381, and in Haworth's *America in Ferment*, pp. 367-410.

CHAPTER XXVIII

956 Buck's *The Granger Movement*, p. 171.

957 Dey's *Railroad Legislation in Iowa* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vols. VII, VIII, IX, 1891-92-93, pp. 556, 557.

958 Aldrich's *The Repeal of the Granger Law in Iowa* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III, pp. 256-270.

959 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 94, 95.

960 Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, pp. 333-337.

961 Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, pp. 337-339.

962 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 150; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1886, pp. 849, 850; *Journal of the Senate*, 1886, p. 847.

963 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. VI, pp. 92-106.

964 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. VI, pp. 73, 74.

965 Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, pp. 8, 9.

966 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 145.

967 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 151, 152; *Laws of Iowa*, 1888, pp. 33-51.

968 Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. VI, pp. 171-173.

969 *The Cedar Rapids Sunday Republican*, November 17, 1912.

970 Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 211, 214, 216, 217, 221; *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1890, pp. 167, 168; Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, p. 161.

971 *La Follette's Autobiography*, pp. 282, 341.

972 Larrabee's *The Railroad Question*, p. 230.

CHAPTER XXIX

973 Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, pp. 166, 167.

974 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 101-107; Brigham's *The Governor of Iowa* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 293.

975 Brigham's *The Governor of Iowa* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 295.

976 Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, p. 167; Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, p. 239.

977 Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 241-244.

978 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), January 12, 1900; Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 244, 245.

979 Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, p. 167.

980 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), February 15, 1901.

981 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 10, 1901.

982 Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 206, 207; Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, p. 167.

983 *Iowa Official Register*, 1902, p. 274; Roberts's *The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. II, pp. 69-73; Dolliver's *The Forward Movement in the Republican Party* in *The Outlook*, Vol. XCVI, p. 167; Brigham's *The Governor of Iowa* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 294.

984 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), September 27, 1901.

985 *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 31, 1901.

986 *Iowa Official Register*, 1902, p. 563; *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), November 8 and 15, 1901.

987 *Inaugural Address*, pp. 3-17, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1902, Vol. I.

[988] Roberts's *The Origin and History of the Iowa Idea* in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. II, pp. 76-79.

[989] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), April 10 and July 3, 1903.

[990] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), May 1, 1903; Horack's *Primary Elections in Iowa* in the *Iowa Applied History Series*, Vol. I, p. 275.

[991] *The Weekly Iowa State Register* (Des Moines), October 2, 1903.

[992] *Iowa Official Register*, 1904, p. 563.

[993] *Biennial Message*, p. 15, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1904, Vol. I.

[994] Horack's *Primary Elections in Iowa* in the *Iowa Applied History Series*, Vol. I, pp. 275, 277.

[995] Shambaugh's *The Constitution of the State of Iowa*, pp. 107-112.

[996] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), July 29, 1906; Brigham's *The Governor of Iowa* in *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 291-295.

[997] *The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), August 1, 1906.

[998] *The Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 268.

[999] *Iowa Official Register*, 1907-1908, pp. 389, 390.

[1000] *Iowa Official Register*, 1907-1908, p. 527.

[1001] *Biennial Message*, pp. 16-18, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1907, Vol. I.

[1002] *Inaugural Address*, pp. 8-10, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1907, Vol. I.

[1003] *Biennial Message*, pp. 22-34, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1907, Vol. I.

[1004] *Inaugural Address*, p. 13, in the *Iowa Legislative Documents*, 1907, Vol. I.

[1005] Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 250-254.

[1006] Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, pp. 254-258.

[1007] *La Follette's Autobiography*, p. 429.

[1008] *La Follette's Autobiography*, pp. 428-436.

[1009] *The New International Year Book*, 1910, pp. 382, 383, 1912, pp. 338, 339.

1010 *Iowa Official Register*, 1913-1914, pp. 381-383, 519, 522.

CHAPTER XXX

1011 The best recent discussions of the subject of this chapter are: Weyl's *The New Democracy*; Croly's *Promise of American Life* and *Progressive Democracy*; Lipmann's *Drift and Mastery* and *A Preface to Politics*; Wilson's *The New Freedom*; Roosevelt's *The New Nationalism*.

1012 See p. 96, above.

1013 Merriam's *Outlook for Social Politics in the United States* in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XVIII, p. 676.

1014 Poole's *The Harbor*, p. 63.

1015 See p. 99, above.

1016 *The Clinton Age*, December 1, 1871.

1017 Senator Knute Nelson in *Memorial Addresses on the Life and Character of Cushman Kellogg Davis*, pp. 9-16; Holmes's *Minnesota in Three Centuries*, Vol. IV, p. 60; Folwell's *Minnesota*, p. 295.

1018 Rhodes's *History of the United States*, Vol. VII, p. 19.

1019 Sloane's *Party Government in the United States of America*, p. 230.

1020 Commons's *A Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, Vol. IX, p. 20.

1021 Williams's *Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, Vol. II, p. 17; *The Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 6, 1874.

1022 See Chapters IX and XI, above.

1023 See Chapters XI and XVII, above.

1024 See Chapter XIV, above.

1025 See Chapter XVII, above.

1026 *The New Republic*, Vol. III, No. 27, pp. 4, 5.

INDEX

INDEX

Abbott, Lyman, 386
Aberdeen (South Dakota), 296
Academies, admission to, 120
Adams, Brooks, 35
Adams, Charles Francis, 13, 14, 15, 17, 25, 33, 34, 38, 427
Adams, Dudley W., 71
Adams, John Quincy, 20
Adams County, 174, 179, 182
Addams, Jane, 432, 433
Administration, proposed changes in, 59
Agricultural classes, uprising of, 62
Agricultural machinery (see farm implements)
Agricultural products, coöperative sale of, 85; decline in price of, 199; dealing in futures in, 214, 222; price of, 224; protection of, 227; freight rates on, 241
Agricultural Wheel, 215; facts concerning, 229, 230
Agricultural Wheelers, 206
Agriculture, encouragement of, 149; relation of, to Greenback movement, 198-201
Ainsworth, L. L., 79, 272
Alabama, 27, 43, 131, 133, 140, 178, 212, 230, 234, 259, 264, 265, 280, 346, 363, 388, 389, 424
Aldrich, Chester H., 426
Aldrich, N. W., 421
Alien ownership, 214, 233
Allegheny Theological Seminary, 252
Allen, Henry J., 429
Allen, William, 113, 486
Allen, William V., election of, to Senate, 272; character and career of, 272, 273; reference to, 291, 477
Alliance Assemblies, 258
Allis, Edward P., 110, 138
Allison, William B., 23, 308, 355, 445, 458, 462; contest between Cummins and, 466, 467
Altgeld, John P., 205, 266, 267, 277, 287, 288, 360, 365, 370
Alton Railroad, 53
American Emigrant Company, 165
American Reform party, 207, 216
Ames, 355, 375
Amnesty, general, 11
Anarchists, activities of, in Chicago, 205; reference to, 210, 270; pardon of, 267
Anarchy, origin of, 333
Anderson, Albert R., 196
Anderson, John E., 313, 314, 325, 326, 355
Andover Theological Seminary, 394
Anthony, Susan B., 136
Anthracite coal strike, settling of, 400-402; public opinion on, 401
Anti-Monopolists, United Order of, 258
Anti-Monopoly party, 51, 64, 109, 200, 202, 204, 207, 221, 435, 448, 470; success of, 55, 56, 57; history of, in Iowa, 67-88; reasons for organization of, 67-69; different names of, 67; organization of, 69, 70; State convention of, 70, 76, 77, 79, 80; campaigns of, 70-82; disorganization in, 72; support of, by Democrats, 72, 73; elements in, 77; change of name of, 78; fusion of, with Democrats, 79; last campaign of, 81; principal issues of, 82-84; coöperative features of, 84-88; new agitation of, 147; convention of, 148, 149; outgrowth of, 153; members of, in Senate, 275
Anti-trust law, 308
Appanoose County, 174, 189
Arbitration, proposal for courts of, 103; reference to, 148, 217, 256, 283; settling of strike by, 400-402
Arkansas, 140, 211, 212, 229, 234, 262, 300, 323, 389; Union Labor party in, 215, 216
Army, 126
Atkinson, Edward, 12, 14, 18
Atlantic, 195, 373
Atlantic Monthly, The, 20, 147, 204
Attorney-General, 167, 399, 401, 443

Auditor of State, 167
Australian ballot, 210, 234, 308, 316

Babb, Washington I., nomination of, 356; reference to, 366
Baer, George F., 400
Ballinger, Mr., 161
Ballot, 139
Baltimore, 104, 113
Baltimore Convention, part of Bryan in, 386, 431
Baker, Newton D., 413
Bank deposits, guarantee of, 354, 385
Bank notes, retirement of, demanded, 95, 96, 155
Bankers, 94, 309; relation of farmers to, 224, 225; currency views of, 332
Banking, 59; coöperative plan in, 88
Banking corporations, 58, 354
Banking system, 61, 210
Banks, N. P., election of, 31
Banks, 92, 97, 139, 216
Barbed wire syndicate, conflict of farmers with, 311, 448
Barker, Wharton, 388
Bartholomew, J. L., 352
Bartlett, William F., 14, 32, 102
Bascom, John, 394, 395, 396
Bashor, S. H., 353, 355
Bass, Robert P., 426
Bath (Maine), 290, 296
Beardsley, Charles, 307, 518
Beaverback currency, 136, 499
Beebe, J. O., 352
Beecher, Henry Ward, 473
Beef, 222
Belangee, J., 322, 324, 355
Bellamy, Edward, 249, 335
Bennington, anniversary of battle of, 276
Berryhill, James G., 438
Bestow, S. L., 308, 353, 356; nomination of, 356, 357
Beveridge, Albert J., 392, 418, 421, 432
Biennial elections, 460
Bimetallic League, American, activities of, 271, 272; reference to, 283, 294, 353
Bimetallism, defeat of, 372; passing of, as issue, 382
Bird, Frank W., 14, 37
Black Hawk County, 73, 364
Blaine, James G., 34, 35, 46, 82, 128, 190, 191, 202, 203, 362, 464; opposition of Independent Republicans to, 43-45; defeat of, 46
Blair, Austin, 14, 17
Blanc, Louis, book by, 92
Bland, Richard P., 283, 288, 289, 360, 361, 370
Bloomfield, 138, 156
Blythe, J. W., 451, 458, 461
Bohemians, 103
Boies, Horace, election of, 197; reference to, 288, 289, 334, 348, 359, 365, 520; method of securing reëlection of, 319, 320; number of votes received by, 320; presidential boom for, 321; currency views of, 329; defeat of, 336, 337; campaign of, for presidential nomination, 360-363; reasons for defeat of, 363
Bolter, Lemuel R., 74
Bondholders, 94
Bond Syndicates, 126
Bonds, relation of currency to, 93, 94; payment of, 105, 170; reference to, 111, 233, 289, 331, 342, 349; taxation of, 123; hostility to, 126; funding of, 139
Booth, Newton, 35, 63, 65, 112; election of, 57; nomination of, 112; leadership of, 475, 476
Borah, William E., 392, 423
Bosses, 418, 450
Boston, 31, 34, 44, 45, 140, 249
Bourne, Jonathan, Jr., 392, 416, 423
Bowker, R. R., 45
Bowles, Samuel, 14, 15, 34, 35
Brewster, George W., 135
"Brickdust Sketches", 115
Brimmer, Martin, 487
Bristow, Henry, 34, 36, 392, 421, 423
Brokers, 309
Brooklyn (New York), 116
Brown, B. Gratz, agitations begun by, 9; nomination of, 10, 16; accounts of trick by, 16, 17; reference to, 24, 108, 487; description of, 25
Brown, Henry A., 33
Brown, Leonard, platform drawn up by, 161; character of, 162; reference to, 168, 169, 170, 171, 178, 181, 324, 325, 346, 348, 375; letters from, 177, 186
Brown, Norris, 421, 423
Browning, O. H., 142

Bryan, William J., 143, 266, 271, 285, 294, 297, 331, 361, 364, 365, 366, 367, 370, 389, 398, 454, 479; "Cross of Gold" speech of, 287, 288; nomination of, for President, 289, 363, 388; career of, 289, 290, 379-390; endorsement of, by Populists, 291-293; speech-making tour of, 295, 296; charges made by, 298; number of votes received by, 299, 300, 380, 385; supporters of, 301, 302; vote for, in Iowa, 371; tour of, around world, 381, 382; qualities of, 386; support of Wilson by, 431; leadership of, 478
Bryant, William Cullen, 12, 14, 18, 35, 36
Bryce, James, 6, 146
Buchanan, Isaac, 498
Buchanan, James, 106, 109, 110, 112, 174; description of, 107; plans and doctrines of, 107, 108
Buchanan, Joseph R., book by, 203; statements by, 206, 207; reference to, 208, 209
Buchanan County, 312, 364
Buck, Solon J., 81
Buckalew, Charles R., 101
Buckner, Simon B., nomination of, 294
Budd, Mr., 281
Buena Vista County, 315
Buffalo, 452
Bull moose, origin of term, 429
Bullock, Alexander G., 35, 36
Burkett, Elmer J., 421
Burlington, 157, 329, 332, 451
Burlington Hawk-Eye, 25, 26, 80, 158
Burlington Railroad, 340, 461
Business, 396, 418; government regulation of, 399
Business men, campaign contributions by, 297
Butler, Benj. F., 76, 102, 105, 124, 134, 138, 159, 186, 190, 202, 203, 205, 476; nomination of, 149; letter of, 149, 150; career of, 150, 151; character of, 151, 152, 500, 501
Butler, Jacob, 24, 25, 485
Butler, Marion, 271
Butler, Nicholas Murray, 430
Butte (Montana), 346

Cabinet, Greeley supporters in, 41, 42
Caine, M. J., 196
Cairo (Illinois), 87
Calhoun, W. H., 325, 351, 352, 374
California, success of Independents in, 51; Anti-Monopoly party in, 56, 57; campaign of 1875 in, 63, 64; reference to, 64, 65, 68, 125, 129, 144, 145, 146, 300, 363, 428, 432, 434, 475, 476, 500; Greenback vote in, 134; Nationalist clubs in, 249; Populist party in, 280, 281
Cameron, A. C., 107
Cameron, Simon, 42
Campaign contributions, 383, 392, 465, 466
Campaign expenses of 1896, 297-299
Campaign literature, 294
Campaign publicity, 384
Campbell, Alexander, 107, 109, 138, 261
Campbell, Daniel, 155, 160, 169, 172, 176, 198, 313, 318, 325; nomination of, 171; votes received by, 174
Campbell, Ed., 78
Campbell, Frank T., 74
Campion, James A., 291
Canada, currency reform in, 498, 499
Canadian Currency Reform League, 136
Canal, 234
Candidates, method of nominating, 234, 390, 460
Cannon, Joseph G., 420
Canton (Ohio), 296
Capital, need of, 46, 154, 304; duty of government toward, 47, 48; relation of labor to, 101; arbitration of disputes between labor and, 103; widening of gulf between labor and, 104; reference to, 106, 127, 128, 302, 345; protection of, 256
Capitalists, 95, 97, 150
Carey, Joseph M., 426
Carpenter, Cyrus C., nomination of, for Governor, 71; campaign of, 72; reference to, 73, 168, 435, 503
Carpenter, Matt., 76, 110
Cary, Samuel F., nomination of, 112; reference to, 118, 156
Cass County, 74, 181, 315, 364
Casserly, Eugene, 57
Cattle, price of, 222
Caucus, substitute for, 390
Cedar County, 74
Cedar Rapids, convention at, 191, 194, 451, 452; reference to, 308, 451

Central America, 234
Central Nationalists, 258
Central Pacific Railroad, 281, 342, 475
Century, The, 284
Cerro Gordo County, 364
Chamberlain, Daniel H., 35
Chamberlain, Edwin M., 99
Chamberlain, George E., election of, 416, 417
Chambers, B. J., 135, 138, 184
Chase, Salmon P., 331
Chase, Solon, 128, 138, 149, 174, 192
Chase, Warren, 181
Chattel slavery, 96
Chautauqua, 393
Cherokee County, 364
Chicago, 85, 87, 115, 118, 176, 213, 280, 284, 294, 295, 341, 343, 359, 360, 365, 368, 370, 386, 437, 440, 448, 468; convention at, 135, 136-138, 148, 293, 366, 428, 432; conference at, 141, 210, 256, 426; anarchists in, 205; United Labor party in, 210; meeting at, 271, 272, 424, 425; strike in, 277, 363; Bryan's speech at, 287, 288
Chicago, University of, 471
Chicago Tribune, 12, 14, 65, 75, 87, 107, 109, 141, 151, 475
Chickasaw County, 182
Child labor, 95, 96, 101, 103, 120, 126, 256, 433
Chinese exclusion law, 459
Chinese immigration, 94, 124, 128, 129, 139, 208
Cincinnati, conference at, 10; convention at, 11-17, 47, 109, 110, 206, 208, 210, 245, 247; dissatisfaction with nominations made at, 17-19; reference to, 32, 35, 36, 212, 246, 276, 316; results of convention at, 38; labor congress at, 93, 94; Iowans at convention at, 196
Cincinnati Commercial, 14
Citizens' Alliance, 232, 246, 247, 258, 510
Citizenship, conditions of, 217
Civil service reform, 10, 11, 15, 39, 44, 46
Civil Service Reform League, National, 39
Civil War, 30, 473, 479; political issues before, 68; first Democratic victory since, 192
Clagget Thomas W., 25
Clapp, Moses E., 392, 421, 423
Clark, Allen, 352
Clark, Champ, 393, 430
Clark, Dan E., acknowledgment to, ix
Clarke County, 315
Clarke, James Freeman, 487
Clarkson, James S., viii, 347
Clarkson ring, 190
Class hostility, 370
Clerk of Supreme Court, 167
Cleveland, Grover, nomination of, for President, 44; support of, by Independents, 44, 45; reference to, 190, 202, 203, 211, 258, 266, 293, 321, 363, 365, 477, 514; number of votes received by, 268; action of, in strike of 1894, 277, 278; denunciations of, 288, 289
Cleveland (Iowa), 437
Cleveland (Ohio), 58, 301, 409; convention at, 107, 109; career of Johnson in, 412-414
Cliggitt, John, 364
Clinton, meeting at, 369
Clinton Age, The, viii, 22, 23, 26, 67, 80, 81, 248, 311, 314, 317, 323, 328, 334, 337, 353, 364, 366, 369, 370, 371
Clinton County, 364
Cloud, David C., 24
Coal operators, arbitration forced upon, 400-402
Coal Trust, 401
Coffin, L. S., 227
Coin's Financial School, 295, 369
Colfax, 374
Colfax Sentinel, 165
Cole, C. C., 179, 324, 325, 331, 346, 353, 355, 374
Colleges, admission to, 120
Collyer, Robert, 487
Colonization, 283
Colorado, 144, 212, 213, 235, 243, 252, 262, 268, 274, 286, 323, 336, 342, 346, 381, 415, 432
Colored Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, 258
Colored Farmers' National Alliance, 232, 246
Columbia University, 395, 430
Columbus (Ohio), 20, 427; convention at, 26, 30, 31, 99
Combinations, 222, 227, 238, 399, 455
Commerce, 452

Commerce and Labor, Department of, 399
Commercial monopolies, 97
Commissioner of Immigration, 413
Common carriers, 130 (see also Railroads)
Commune, 103, 162, 163, 500; growth of, 145
Communism, meaning of, 104; opposition to, 126, 127; reference to, 166, 170, 171
Communists, 162, 165, 166, 185
Competition, 62, 350, 455
Confederation of Industrial Organizations, 247
Conference Committee, 421
Conference of Governors, 405
Conger, Edwin H., 451
Congress, new rules for, 137; lobbying in, 148; campaign of Greenbackers for, 164-168; election of Weaver and Gillette to, 167; election of Weller to, 186; election of Weaver to, 191, 195; representatives of farmers in, 237; members of, 238; Populists in, 274, 275, 281; record of Bryan in, 290; legislation by, during Roosevelt's administration, 402-406; Insurgent movement in, 420-422; losses of Republicans in, 422, 423; activities of Progressives in, 423, 424; reference to, 465; influence of corporations over, 474
Congressional districts, election results in, 325, 326, 351, 352, 371
Conkling, Roscoe, 42, 148
Connecticut, union of parties in, 31, 40; platform of Liberals in, 48; reference to, 99, 106, 132, 144, 213, 452, 487; Labor Reform party in, 100, 101, 102; Greenback party in, 116, 129
Conservation, 405, 424, 432
Constitution of Iowa, amendment to, 186, 187, 305, 306, 460
Constitution of United States, attitude of third parties toward, 3, 4; proposal to amend, 100, 349, 350, 464, 465; seventeenth amendment to, 416; demand for amendments to, 472, 473
Consumer, 139
Contract labor, 124, 148, 208
Contract system, 129
Contraction, 84
Convention, substitute for, 390
Conventions (see various parties)
Convict labor, 127, 256, 433
Cooley, Harris R., 413
Coolies, importation of, 98
Coöperation, 98
Coöperative enterprises, operation of, by farmers, 84-88; reference to, 199, 312, 313; plans for, 253
Coöperative stores, 253
Cooper, Peter, vote for, in Iowa, 28; reference to, 111, 118, 143, 155, 476; nomination of, 112; career of, 113, 114
Cooper, Henry A., 392
Cooper and Cary Club, 156
Cooper Institute, meeting at, 13; character of, 113, 114; reference to, 140
Cooper Union, 211
Corn, increase in production of, 199; price of, 221, 222
Corn-growers, 206
Corn-producing States, 51
Corporations, regulation of, 46, 47; need of restraints on, 48; reference to, 110, 316, 390, 391, 424, 438, 448; power of, 139, 142; reclamations of land from, 214; legislation relative to, 383; control of government by, 384; government regulation of, 399, 470; popular feeling against, 404, 405; participation of, in politics, 456, 457, 463; campaign contributions by, 465, 466; danger from growth of, 473, 474; influence of, over legislation, 474
Corporations, Bureau of, 399
Corruption, 37, 47, 154, 417
Cotton bill, 423, 424
Council Bluffs, 157, 340, 344, 364, 437; Kelly's army at, 338
Country Life Commission, 405
Courts, 121, 349; lack of justice in, 333
Cowdrey, Robert H., nomination of, 210
Cox, Jacob D., 10, 12, 18, 487
Coxey, Jacob S., 291, 358
Coxey's army, 277
Crane, Sylvanus B., 354, 375
Crawford, C. I., 421, 423
Crawford County, 315, 364
Credit Mobilier, 47, 474
Creditors, 123
Credits, theft of, 206
Creston, 196, 374, 375
Crime, 96, 471
Crisis of 1873, 91, 124
Crisis of 1893, 276, 277

Croly, Herbert, 298, 350
Crops, failure of, 144; price of, 224
"Cross of Gold" speech, 288
Crossley, J. J., 458, 460
Crounse, Lorenzo, 333
Crucial period, 202-217
Cummins, A. B., 392, 421, 423, 430, 446; statement by, 424; career of, 447-469; contests of, for Senatorship, 447, 448, 449, 466, 467; first campaign of, for Governor, 450-454; number of votes received by, 454, 459, 464, 467; administrations of, as Governor, 464-466; career of, in Senate, 467-469; support of, for President, 468; service of, 478
Cunningham, Charles E., nomination of, 208
Currency, debasing of, 48; reference to, 61, 65, 107, 123, 214, 221, 233, 302, 330, 470, 476; attitude toward, in Iowa, 83; position of greenbacks in, 91; lack of, 91, 222; relation of bonds to, 93, 94; demand for board of management of, 97, 98; effect of contraction of, 111; inflation of, 128; views of Irish on, 159, 160; views of Weaver on, 164; demand for increase of, 199; method of increasing, 224; attitude of Republicans on, 286, 287; attitude of people toward, 301, 302, 332; contraction of, 310; newspaper comments on, 330; discussion of, 347; reform in, in Canada, 498, 499
Currency League, 499
Curtin, Andrew G., 14, 487
Curtis, George William, 42, 44, 45, 83

Dakota, 87, 228, 312
Dallas County, 174, 178, 182, 186, 189, 193, 315
Dalton, Charles, 326
Dana, Charles A., 487
Dane County (Wisconsin), 222
Davenport, convention at, 24; reference to, 27, 340, 344, 363
Davis, C. F., 24
Davis, Cushman K., speech by, 473
Davis, David, suggestion of, for presidency, 13; supporters of, 16; reference to, 20, 25, 64, 143, 149, 160, 275, 475, 487; popularity of, in West, 26; characterization of, 26, 27; nomination of, 99; effort to nominate, 112; election of, to Senate, 119; letter of, 142, 143
Davis, Mr., 324
Davis County, 174, 178, 182, 186, 189, 193, 197
Dawley, A. C. N., 155, 177
Day, Horace H., 107
Debs, Eugene V., 277, 284, 334; popular vote for, 434
Decatur County, 315
Declaration of Independence, 95
Decorah, 169
Defalcations, 48
De La Matyr, Gilbert, 132, 137, 174, 181, 213, 257
Delaware, 144; activities of farmers in, 244
Delegates, popular election of, 427
Dellaye, Stephen B., 135, 137
Democracy, influences favoring, 2; reference to, 65, 139, 396; struggle between wealth and, 68, 301
Democratic party, 1, 6, 10, 28, 51, 95, 96, 99, 113, 119, 454, 459, 464, 469; origin of planks in platform of, 2; readjustments in, 5, 6; Greeley nominated by, 19, 20; reasons for defeat of, 22; course to be pursued by, 22, 23; attitude of Liberals toward, 37, 38; effect of Liberal movement on, 48; weak condition of, 68; loss of votes by, 81; revival of, 81; sectional lines in, 84; Greenback movement in, 116, 117; victories of, 144, 321; relation of Butler to, 151; relations between Anti-Monopoly party and, 153; reasons for victory of, 269, 270; adoption of Populist issues by, 278; union of Populist party and, 282-303, 358-367, 478; adoption of free silver issue by, 285, 359, 360; national convention of, in 1896, 287-289; endorsement of, by Populists, 290-293; dissatisfaction with platform of, 293, 294; bolters from, 294; cost of campaign of 1896 to, 297; effect of prohibition issue on, 306; inactivity of, 328; defeat of, 336, 337; discussion of silver question by, 347, 348, 352, 353, 356, 357; discussion of fusion with, 355, 356; services of Bryan to, 379-390; struggle in, in 1912, 430, 431

Democrats, attitude of, toward Adams, 17; attitude of, toward Greeley, 25; attitude of, toward Davis, 26; union of Liberals and, 31, 32, 40; Cleveland nominated by, 44; fusion of, with Reformers, 55, 56; reference to, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 100, 101, 102, 122, 129, 133, 134, 150, 215, 216, 217, 236, 237, 243, 250, 258, 268, 280, 281, 307, 315, 319, 367, 371, 404, 418, 478, 479; fusion of Independents with, 64. 65; influence of, in Anti-Monopoly convention, 70, 76; support of Anti-Monopoly ticket by, 72, 73; fusion of, with other parties, 79; greenback movement among, 105; fusion of Greenbackers with, 118, 167, 171, 172; attempt of, to play trick on Weaver, 140; ridicule of Greenbackers by, 141, 142; plans for union of Greenbackers and, 146; lack of leaders among, 147; relation of, to Greenbackers, 154; attitude of, toward coinage of silver, 159, 160; gains made by, 178, 182, 189, 422, 423; discussion of fusion of Greenbackers with, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197; victory of, 197, 198, 221, 237, 311; relations of Farmers' Alliance with, 238, 239, 242; relations of Populists with, 265-268; reaction against, 275; attitude of, on money question, 282; revolt against free silver among, 363-365, 366; losses by, 380; percentage of popular vote cast for, 387, 388; union of Insurgents and, in Congress, 420, 421; union of Progressives with, 423, 424; union of Standpatters and, 462
Denver, 213, 415; convention at, 243, 384
Des Moines, 24, 140, 162, 165, 344, 350, 374, 447, 448, 459, 522; meeting at, 68, 170, 180, 311, 313, 318, 331, 336; convention at, 70, 76, 77, 79, 154, 155, 156, 161, 176, 185, 187, 188, 190, 194, 195, 197, 198, 308, 314, 322, 324, 335, 347, 348, 354, 355, 358, 366, 458, 460, 469; coöperative agency in, 85; mass meeting at, 157; conference at, 168, 179, 180, 346, 353, 364; reception of Weaver at, 324; Kelly's army at, 339, 341; labor demonstration at, 344; convention of Governors at, 464, 465
Des Moines County, 24, 364
Des Moines Leader, The, 193, 323
Des Moines River, Kelly's army on, 339
Depositories, 107
Depression, 332
Detroit, convention at, 110; career of Pingree in, 408, 409; reference to, 414
Devens, Charles, 41
Dey, Peter A., 435
Dickinson County, 364
Discriminations, 437, 452
District of Columbia, 363
Direct legislation, 303, 349, 350, 415 (see also initiative and referendum)
Dix, John A., 18
Dixon, Charles G., 208
Dixon, Mr., platform presented by,24
Dixon, Joseph M., 392, 423
Doctors, 230
Dodge, Augustus C., 172
Dolliver, Jonathan P., 390, 392, 393, 421, 450, 462; speeches by, 466; career in Senate, 467, 468; death of, 468
Donnelly, Ignatius, papers of, ix; reference to, 112, 213, 248, 257, 258, 259, 261, 272, 291, 346, 388
Doolittle, James R., 14, 191
Doty, Elias, votes received by, 193, 197
Drake University, 322, 336
Dubuque, convention at, 359; reference to, 488
Dubuque County, 196, 364
Dubuque Daily Telegraph, 162
Durant, Thomas J., 109, 111, 112, 113
Duties (see tariff)

East, objections to Blaine in, 43, 44; character of Liberal Republican movement in, 46; reference to, 92, 369, 473, 476; conditions in, 122; strength of Greenback party in, 125; Union Labor party in, 213; financial relations of West with, 222, 223, 224; demonetization of silver by, 223; plan of West to boycott, 226; Nationalist clubs in, 249; attitude toward Populists in, 278; dissatisfaction among Democrats in, 293; desire of unemployed to reach, 340
Eastman, Enoch W., 161
Economic forces, 4, 6, 221, 321, 375, 419, 471, 472
Economic issues, 305
Economic problems, importance of, 5;

relation of Liberal Republican movement to, 46-48; relation of Greenback party to, 198-201
Economics, theories of, 395
Economy, 123, 126, 233
Edgerton, J. A., 516
Editors, 134, 135, 231
Education, 98, 104, 120, 123, 129, 433
Eight-hour day, 94, 98, 148, 316, 411
Eldora, 156, 171
Election laws, 126
Electoral Commission, 119
Electors-at-Large, 324, 366, 370, 371
Elevators, operation of, 86, 87
Ellington, C. H., 261
Ely, Richard T., career of, 395, 396
Embree, James, 170
England, 138, 253, 395, 480; trades-unionism in, 171
Engle, Andrew, 344
Engle, Perry, 322, 325, 348
Erie Railroad, 473
Esch-Townsend Bill, 403
Europe, immigration from, 51, 139; radicalism in, 92, 93; communism of, 126; demonetization of silver by, 223; government ownership in, 383
Evans, S. B., 353, 356
Evarts, William M., 41
Exchange, freedom of, 98
Executive Council, 339, 457
Exemptions, 47
Exposition Hall, convention in, 136
Express companies, 404

Factories, operation of, by Grangers, 85-88; hours of labor in, 96, 98, 100, 101; safety law for, 122; child labor in, 126; inspection of, 256, 354
Fairbanks, Charles W., 430
Faneuil Hall, 140, 146
Farmers, organizations of, 51, 226-235; origin of political agitation among, 51; political activities among, in West, 51-66; organization of Clubs among, 52; character of organizations of, 65, 66; political activities of, in Iowa, 67-88; need of, for more currency, 83, 84; universal suffrage for, 93; conference of, 110; reference to, 135, 169, 477; place of, in reform movements, 215; economic conditions among, 221-226; relation of, to bankers, 224, 225; political action of, condemned, 228; platforms of, 233, 234; activities of, in campaign of 1890, 236-246; co-operative enterprises among, 253, 312, 313; conflict of, with syndicate, 311; currency views of, 332; account of meeting of, 368, 369; attorney for, 448
Farmers' Alliance, 146, 206, 207, 215, 228, 246, 252, 256, 258, 266, 270, 280; union of Knights of Labor and, 214, 215; political activities of, in 1890, 236-246; meeting of, 254, 255, 318; activities of, in Iowa, 309-314 (see also Northern Alliance, Southern Alliance, etc.)
Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, 313, 322
Farmers' and Laborers' Industrial Union, 308
Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America, 230
Farmers' and Laboring Men's party, 67
Farmers' clubs, 111
Farmers' Congress, 244, 311
Farmers' Convention, State (Illinois), 54
Farmers' Declaration of Independence, 54
Farmers' free-list, 423
Farmers' League, 258
Farmers' movement, history of, 49-88; significance of, 65, 66; subsidence of, 91
Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, facts concerning, 231, 232, 243, 246, 250, 258
Farmers' Tribune, 355
Farmers' Union, 247
Farm implements, coöperative purchasing of, 85, 253, 312; manufacture of, by Grangers, 85-88
Farms, increase in number of, 199
Farnsworth, E. M., 169, 171
Farwell Hall, convention in, 136
Fayette County, 174
Federation of Labor, American, 204, 233
Fenton, Reuben E., 14
Ferriss, James H., 526
Feudalism, Modern, 473
Fiat money (see money, currency, greenbacks, etc.)
Field, Cyrus W., 33, 34
Field, David Dudley, 12
Field, James G., nomination of, 262, 263; address issued by, 265
Field, Moses W., 110, 112, 113

Fifth Avenue Conference, 37
Finance Committee, 421
Florida, 133, 234, 238, 363, 388, 389
Floyd County, 315
Folk, Joseph W., career of, 417, 418
Folsom, George W., 45
Ford, Rev., 344
Forest City, 314
Forestry work, 405
Fort Dodge, 504
Fort Dodge Times, 170
Forum, The, 273, 321
France, Communism in, 171
Franchise, limitation of, 9; reference to, 98
Franchises, theft of, 206; reference to, 410, 412
Franklin County, 364
Free silver, need for, 224; demand for, 225; reference to, 226, 233, 275, 309, 310, 349, 388; influence of demand for, 229; importance of, as political issue, 282, 283, 301-303; adoption of, by Democrats, 285, 287-289, 359, 360; effect of book on movement for, 295; Republican view of, 329, 330; gains in movement for, 346-357; contest over question of, in Iowa, 358-375; attitude of Boies on, 363; revolt against, 363-365, 366; character of discussion of, 367; readoption of issue of, 380 (see also Silver)
Free silver meetings, 331
Free Silver party, 2
Free trade, 225, 226
Free Trade League, American, members of, 12
Free Trader, The, 12
Free Traders, 216
Freight rates, 52, 56, 121, 241, 308, 438, 439, 441, 443, 444; failure of law regulating, 69; discriminations in, 437
Fremont County, 315
French commune, 103, 145
Frontier, influence of, 2
Frothingham, O. B., 12
Furrow, Mr., 312
Fusion, effect of, 4, 51, 55, 56, 60, 190-197; instances of, 64, 65, 167, 351; reference to, 79, 100, 118, 144, 146, 329, 373, 506; opposition to, 111, 155, 164, 168, 172; failure to secure, 158; discussion of, 171, 326, 347, 348, 349, 355, 356
Futures, dealing in, 214, 233

Garfield, James A., attitude of Independents toward, 43; reference to, 132, 140; assassination of, 145
Garfield, James R., 424, 432
Garrison, William Lloyd, 12
Gates, E. N., 169
Gear, John H., 158, 159, 174, 355; career of, 448-450; death of, 450
General Assembly, political complexion of, 73, 81, 307; bills for railroad regulation in, 74; agitation for repeal of railroad law in, 82; Greenbackers in, 182, 189; contests in, 307, 308; denunciation of, 316; Populists in, 320; struggle for Railroad Commission in, 436, 437; contest with railroads in, 438; General Assembly, reference to, 442, 443, 461, 462; railroad influence in, 447; Cummins in, 448; senatorial contest in, 449, 450; primary election law enacted by, 460
George, Henry, 12, 211, 301, 413; opinions of, 203; single tax movement of, 203; influence of, 204; campaigns of, 209; service of, 476, 477
Georgia, 43, 133, 234, 259, 262, 271, 388, 389, 485; Farmers' Alliance in, 238; campaign of 1892 in, 265
German-Americans, 363
Germans, attitude of, toward Adams, 17; loss of votes of, 81; reference to, 103, 394
Germany, socialism in, 171; reference to, 395, 396
Godfrey, G. L., 353
Godkin, E. L., 12
Gold, 123, 228, 332, 347, 356, 381; payment of bonds in, 170; coinage of, 329; effect of increased production of, 382
Gold reserve, 289
Gold standard, 282; support of, by Democrats, 363-365, 366
"Golden Rule" Jones, 411
Gordon, John B., 110
Government, duty of, 47, 48; principles of, 94; duty of, to laborers, 101, 342, 343; plan to purify, 106, 206, 207; charges against, 114; functions of, 123, 471; operation of railroad by, 128; construction of public works by, 130; control of, by corporations, 139,

384; demand for control by, 147; public improvements by, 251; interference of, in strike, 277; plan for loans by, 308; effect of Roosevelt's administration on, 398-407; need of reforms in, 455
Government ownership, 207, 208, 210, 214, 233, 234, 281, 302, 383, 384, 401
Governor, candidates for, 70, 71, 80, 156, 171, 193, 196, 197, 316, 336, 354, 356; desire of Weaver to be, 184; reference to, 371; first campaign of Cummins for, 450-454; career of Cummins as, 454-466
Governors, letters of, to Roosevelt, 426, 427; convention of, 464, 465
Gould, Jay, 148, 258
Gillette, E. H., 137, 140, 149, 168, 169, 170, 174, 176, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 191, 195, 196, 197, 198, 305, 309, 315, 322, 324, 354, 355, 373, 374; campaign of, for Congress, 164-168; attacks on, 165, 166, 177; election of, to Congress, 167; defeat of, 179; plans for reception to, 180, 181; votes received by, 193, 325; service of, to Democrats, 194; name applied to, 319, 375
Glasscock, William E., 426
Glenwood, 437
Glenwood coal case, 438
Grain, difficulties in shipping, 51, 52; cooperative sale of, 86; rates of transportation of, 368
Grain monopolies, 97
Grand Castle of the Order of American Farmers and Mechanics of Nebraska, 56
Grange, meeting of, 68, 69; bill drafted by, 74; factories of, 86; reference to, 207, 228, 231, 240, 241, 243, 245, 311
Granger laws, 53, 65, 74
Granger party, 2, 216; demand of, 4; origin of, 53
Grangerism, 146
Grangers, attitude of Carpenter toward, 71, 72; coöperative enterprises of, 85-88, 199; reference to, 104, 109, 198, 206, 216
Granges, organization of, 52; coöperative enterprises of, 52, 53; influence of, in Iowa, 68, 69; political activities of, 69, 70
Grant, Ulysses S., dissatisfaction with administration of, 10; reference to, 15, 16, 19, 21, 27, 30, 83, 100, 117, 134, 150, 151, 175; opposition to, 18, 23, 24; victory of, 20; vote for, in Iowa, 28, 29; retirement of, 41; threat of third term for, 42; opposition to third term for, 43; failures of administration of, 46; bill vetoed by, 91, 105
Great Lakes, canal to Gulf from, 234
Greeley, Horace, 12, 19, 30, 46, 70, 78, 82, 100, 108, 156; suggestion of, for presidency, 13; nomination of, for President, 15; means of securing choice of, 17, 18; defeat of, 20; attitude of Iowa toward, 25; vote for, in Iowa, 28, 29; supporters of, in Cabinet, 41, 42
Greenback Clubs, organization of, 111, 114, 115
Greenback Labor party, 92, 243; disappearance of, 211
Greenback Labor Press Association, 135
Greenback movement, economic basis of, 198-201; climax in, 202; reference to, 302
Greenback party, 2, 64, 216, 221, 244, 256, 266, 270, 305, 317, 328, 375, 470, 477; history of, 89-217; organization of, 105-119; origin of, 105, 106; platform of, 106, 107, 112, 113, 121, 123, 124, 125-130, 137, 146, 148, 154, 155, 181, 182, 185; early leaders in, 107, 109, 110, 111, 475-477; conventions of, 110, 111, 112, 113, 134-138, 212; candidates of, 112, 138, 149, 171, 176, 177, 178, 188, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198; propaganda in favor of, 114; campaigns of, 116-118, 125-130; 132-134, 138-141, 146-152; votes cast by, 118, 119, 141, 158, 159, 167, 174, 178, 179, 182, 186, 189, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198; union of Labor Reform party and, 120-130; growth in strength of, 124, 125; strength of, by States, 125; decline of, 131-152; greatest strength of, 131; activities of, in Congress, 131, 132; ridicule of, 141, 142; importance of, 142, 143; reasons for decline of, 143-145; growth of, in Iowa, 153-

174; reasons for rise of, in Iowa, 153, 154; formation of, in Iowa, 154; State convention of, in Iowa, 154, 155, 156, 161, 162, 170-172, 173, 176, 177, 181, 182, 185, 187, 188, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198; character of campaign of, 157, 158; Iowa delegates to national conventions of, 160, 161; organ of, in Iowa, 169; decline of, in Iowa, 175-201; economic basis of, 198-201; members of, in Senate, 275; union of Union Labor party and, 308
Greenbackers, 3, 206, 209, 216; fusion of Democrats and, 167; conference of, 168, 169; prediction of successes of, 173, 174; denunciation of, 182, 183; comparison of tornadoes and, 184, 185; establishment of newspapers by, 185, 186; Democratic praise of, 190, 191, 193, 194; discussion of fusion of, with Democrats, 190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 197
Greenbackism, originator of, 92; development of, 92, 93; character of doctrine of, 93
Greenbacks, early agitation regarding use of, 91-104; desire for, in West, 91, 92; payment of bonds in, 105, 170; bill providing for, 107, 108; plan of Buchanan relative to, 107, 108; contraction of, 124; Butler's attitude toward, 150, 151; reference to, 155, 164, 257; withdrawal of, 179; attitude of Republicans toward, 195; commendation of, 330, 331
Greene County, 364
Gresham, Walter Q., 261, 263, 264, 272, 477, 478; refusal of, to be candidate, 262
Grinnell, Josiah B., 24, 78
Grinnell, farmers' exchange at, 87; reference to, 340
Grinnell College, 333
Grist-mills, coöperative operation of, 87
Groceries, coöperative purchasing of, 53
Gronna, A. J., 423
Groesbeck, William S., nomination of, 19
Grosvenor, William M., 12, 14, 33, 34
Gue, B. F., 28, 353
Guilbert, Edward A., 488
Gulf of Mexico, canal to, 234
Guthrie County, 155, 182
Hadley, Governor, 426, 429
Hager, John S., election of, 57
Halstead, Murat, 14, 16, 34
Hamilton, Alexander, 4
Hamilton, J. J., 324
Hamilton, John T., 308
Hamilton (Ontario), 498
Hamilton County, 364
Hanna, Marcus A., 286; management of campaign by, 297, 298
Harbors, 234, 251; improvement of, 343
Harbour, T. E., 155
Harding, W. G., 430
Hard money, 59, 84, 154, 176; support of, by Republicans, 105
Hargis, H. C., 155, 177, 178
Harlan, James, 71
Harlan-Allison campaign, 451
Harmon, Judson, 430
Harper, Jesse, 149, 174, 181, 248
Harrison, Benjamin, 117, 258; number of votes received by, 268
Harrison County, 74, 193
Harvard University, 500
Harvesters, coöperative manufacture of, 85
Harvey, James M., 56
Harvey, W. H., book by, 295; speech by, 369
Hayes, Mr., 259, 261
Hayes, Rutherford B., vote for, in Iowa, 28; reference to, 38, 39, 81, 117, 118, 135, 150, 153, 154, 160, 164, 175, 476; effect of nomination of, 41; members of Cabinet of, 41, 42
Hearst, William R., 380, 381
Henderson, J. B., 43
Hendricks, Thomas A., 476
Hennepin Canal, suggestion relative to, 343
Henry County, 73, 74, 364
Henry of Navarre, 108
Hepburn Bill, 403, 404
Herrick, Myron T., 414
Herron, George D., career of, 332, 333; reference to, 335
Hewitt, Abram S., 209
Higginson, T. W., 487
Hill, O. D., 287
Hillis, Newell D., statement by, 368, 369
History, economic interpretation of, 471
Hoadley, Judge, 12

Hobart, G. A., electoral votes received by, 300
Hoggatt, L. Q., 161, 167, 168, 171, 172, 177, 195, 196, 198, 305, 355, 375, 503
Homestead Law, 199
Homestead riot, 267
Homesteaders, 207
Homesteadery, 206
Honest Money League of the Northwest, 114
Hooten, Professor, 109
Hopkins, Mark, 487
Hours of labor, 127, 256, 433
House of Representatives (United States), Greenbackers in, 131, 132; Democratic majority in, 144; Insurgent movement in, 420, 421
Howard County, 174, 179, 182
Howe, Frederic C., 413
Hoyt, Ralph, 135, 136
Hubbard, N. M., attitude of, toward Kelly's army, 340, 341; reference to, 451
Hughes, Charles E., 430
Human welfare, 396

Ida County, 315
Idaho, 268, 286, 323, 381
Illinois, 14, 43, 51, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 74, 86, 87, 99, 103, 106, 112, 118, 125, 131, 132, 159, 210, 211, 228, 235, 237, 246, 247, 252, 262, 340, 368, 389, 428, 475, 477, 487, 500; success of Independents in, 51; three-cent wars in, 53; activities of farmers in, 53-55, 243; Independent Reform party in, 59, 60; Independent party in, 106; Greenback party in, 118, 119, 125, 126, 141; United Labor party in, 209, 210; Union Labor party in, 213; farmers' organization in, 231, 232; senatorial contest of 1891 in, 250, 251; Populist party in, 266, 267
Illinois Central Railroad, 53
Immigrants, prohibition against, 459
Immigration, 51, 139
Imperialism, 379, 380
Implied powers, doctrine of, 4
Import duties, 384 (see also Tariff)
Income tax, 123, 129, 149, 208, 233, 279, 289, 303
Independence, meeting at, 189; reference to, 461
Independent American, 374
Independent party, 51, 78, 221, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246; success of, 56; summary of history of, 64-66; character of, 65, 66; origin of, 105; early conventions of, 105-109; votes cast by, 126; convention of, 154
Independent Reform party, 61
Independent Republican party, history of, from 1880 to 1884, 41-48; opposition of, to Grant, 42; activities of, in 1880, 42, 43; campaign of, against Blaine, 43-45
Independent voter, influence of, in politics, 46
Independents, successes of, 51; activities of, 55-66; platforms of, 58; election of, 237
Indian Territory, 252
Indiana, 20, 36, 43, 64, 78, 86, 99, 103, 112, 118, 125, 131, 132, 133, 212, 231, 235, 237, 245, 247, 368, 389, 421, 487, 500; activities of Independents in, 57, 58; Independent party in, 106; Greenback party in, 117, 118; strength of Greenback party in, 119; Greenback vote in, 141; People's party in, 243
Indiana Financial Plan, 107
Indianapolis, convention at, 57, 58, 105, 106, 112, 113, 149, 293, 294; reference to, 109, 117, 365, 379; Iowa delegates to convention at, 191; conference at, 212; meeting at, 254, 364
Industrial Age, The, 109
Industrial armies, 277
Industrial classes, grievances of, 48
Industrial combinations, 205, 455
Industrial education, 433
Industrial Federation, 247
Industrial justice, 471
Industrial Legion of the United States, activities of, 270, 271
Industrial legislation, 433
Industrial organization, 258
Industrial party, 242, 245
Industrial schools, 120, 127
Industrial unrest, period of, in Iowa, 338-345
Inflation, 114, 347
Inflation Bill, 91, 105, 151

Ingalls, John J., 251
Ingalls, P. P., 168, 170, 171, 172, 177, 180, 181
Inheritances, taxation of, 303
Initiative, 293, 349, 350, 354, 415, 425, 427
Injunctions, 289, 402, 443, 444
Inland Waterways Commission, 405
Insurance, coöperative plan of, 87, 88
Insurance investigation, 404
Insurgents, 391; activities of, in Congress, 420-422 (see Progressives)
Interest, rate of, 84, 126
Interior Department, 98
Inter-Ocean, 183
Interstate commerce, regulation of, 62, 139, 148, 227
Interstate Commerce Commission, 346, 391, 402, 403
Interstate Commerce Law, violations of, 404, 452, 465
Interstate Silver Conference, 346
Intoxicating liquors, State ownership of, 351.
Inventions, profit from, 439
Iowa, Liberal Republicans in, 22-29; election results in, 27, 28, 158, 167, 174, 178, 179, 182, 186, 189, 191, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 320, 325, 336, 337, 351, 357, 371, 454, 459, 464, 467, 469; reference to, 43, 51, 64, 65, 67, 87, 99, 106, 118, 125, 131, 133, 135, 136, 137, 211, 227, 237, 246, 248, 250, 262, 272, 275, 288, 291, 300, 312, 363, 368, 408, 421, 476, 500; history of Anti-Monopoly party in, 67-88; influence of granges in, 68, 69; coöperative enterprises in, 85-88; Greenback vote in, 134, 141; growth of Greenback party in, 153-174; commune in, 162, 163; Greenback clubs in, 168, 169, 172; banner Greenback county in, 170; decline of Greenback party in, 175-201; increase in population of, 199; comparison of conditions in Wisconsin and, 199, 200; conditions in, in 1890 and 1891, 304-321; prohibition movement in, 305-307; Farmers' Alliance in, 309-314; campaign of 1891 in, 317-320; campaigns of 1892 and 1893 in, 321-337; radical leaders from, 335; industrial unrest in, 338-345; Kelly's army in, 338-343; strike in, 343-345; Populist gains in, 346-357; campaign of 1896 in, 358-375; revolt against free silver by Democrats in, 363-365, 366; fears of Republicans concerning, 370; leaders of Populist party in, 373-375; Progressive movement in, 435-469; struggle with railroads in, 435-446; relation between Progressive movement in Wisconsin and, 445, 446; career of Cummins in, 447-469; campaign of 1901 in, 450-454; first nomination of woman in, 504
Iowa City, 79, 166, 364
Iowa Idea, 452; discussion of, 457
Iowa People, 169
Iowa Tribune, 198
Irish, John P., viii, 25, 70, 78, 154, 172, 180, 182, 505; nomination of, 158; votes received by, 158
Irish Land League, 181
Irrigation, 234, 251, 339, 343, 405
Issues, change in character of, 67, 68
Italians, 103

Jackson, Andrew, 139, 398
Jackson, Frank D., 338, 339, 340
Jasper County, 73, 74, 170, 174, 178, 186, 189, 349, 375
Jefferson, Thomas, 139
Jefferson City (Missouri), convention at, 9, 10, 11, 23, 47, 60
Jefferson County, 364
Johns Hopkins University, 395
Johnson, Hiram, nomination of, 432
Johnson, Tom L., 301, 409; career of, 412-414
Johnson County, 364
Joint debates, 188, 189
Joint-rate law, 308
Joliet (Illinois), 526
Jones, Mr., 172
Jones, George W., speeches by, 157, 162
Jones, James K., 287
Jones, Samuel M., career of, 410-412; reference to, 414
Jones, Thomas G., 264
Jones County, 364
Joseph, J. M., 313, 318, 324, 335, 375; nomination of, 336
Judges, recall of, 425
Judicial decisions, recall of, 427
Judson, Harry Pratt, 152

Justice, gratuitous administration of, 121

Kansas, 1, 43, 64, 65, 86, 87, 99, 112, 118, 125, 144, 211, 212, 230, 235, 237, 246, 247, 252, 253, 268, 271, 274, 284, 300, 304, 318, 323, 336, 346, 380, 389, 418, 421, 426, 437, 477, 500, 508, 510; Independents in, 51, 56; Independent Reform party in, 61; Greenback party in, 118, 141; Union Labor party in, 213; mortgages in, 222, 223; Farmers' Alliance in, 239, 240; Populist party in, 244, 245, 267, 268; senatorial contest of 1891 in, 251; senatorial contest of 1893 in, 273
Kansas City, 252, 253, 260, 340, 380, 454
Kansas Farmer, 251
"Kansas lice", 319, 375
Kasson, John A., election of, 179; reference to, 187
Kearney, Dennis, 65, 135, 136, 165, 171; agitation by, 145, 146
Kearney (Nebraska), 296
Kellogg, Edward, book by, 92
Kelley, W. D., 110
Kelly's army, passage of, through Iowa, 338-343; character of men in, 341; conditions giving rise to, 342, 343; reference to, 351, 522
Kem, Mr., 236
Kentucky, 43, 86, 106, 212, 234, 249, 250, 380, 388, 485; Greenback vote in, 134, 141
Kenworthy, W. S., 191, 194
Kenyon, Wm. S., 469
Keokuk County, 348
Key, David M., 41
Kinne, Mr., 161
Kirkwood, Samuel J., popularity of, 81
Knies, Carl, 395, 396
Knights of Industry, formation of, 255, 256
Knights of Labor, 146, 194, 198, 203, 204, 206, 215, 216, 231, 232, 241, 245, 246, 248, 251, 258, 261, 309, 344, 345, 373, 374; political activities of, 204; union of Farmers' Alliance and, 214, 215; supplement to, 256; new head of, 334, 335
Koerner, Gustav, 35
Kolb, Reuben F., 228, 264
Kyle, James H., 251; career of, 252; reference to, 262, 477

Labor, duty of government toward, 47, 48, 342, 343; organization of, 93, 203, 204; relation of, to wealth, 96, 98, 101; unfortunate condition of, 96, 97; arbitration of disputes between capital and, 103; widening of gulf between capital and, 104; speeches on subject of, 109; encouragement of, 123; bureaus of, 124; reference to, 127, 128, 234, 302, 345; lectures on dignity of, 129; protection of, 256; plans for benefit of, 283
Labor Agitator, The Story of a, 203, 206
Labor and other Capital, 92
Labor Commissioner, 334, 373
Labor Congress, resolutions of, 93, 94; platform of, 96-98; reference to, 471
Labor disputes, arbitration of, 148, 217
Labor legislation, 210
Labor party, 270, 470
Labor Reform agitation, 46; history of, 91-104
Labor Reform movement, 13
Labor Reform party, 14, 20, 473, 477; candidates of, 26, 99, 100; campaigns of, 94-104; organization of, 94; platforms of, 94-104, 121, 122; national convention of, 99, 100; union of Greenback party and, 120-130; leaders of, 475
Labor statistics, bureau of, 101, 129, 148, 343
Labor troubles, 144, 145
Labor unions, 459 (see trade unions)
Laborer, duty of government to, 101; protection for, 130
Lacey, John F., victory of Cummins over, 467
La Crosse (Wisconsin), 115
La Follette, Robert M., political career of, 390-397; reference to, 398, 408, 421, 423, 428, 430, 433, 445, 446, 468; speech by, 424; endorsement of, for presidency, 424, 425; speaking tour of, 425; campaign of, for presidential nomination, 425, 426; service of, 478
Laissez faire philosophy, 395
Lake Erie, 414
Lake Michigan, 140

Land, 257, 302; ownership of, 233, 257 (see also Public land)
Land-grants, 110, 217
Land leagues, 146
Land monopolies, 97, 208
Land Office, Register of, 167
Lane, Harry, election of, 417
Larrabee, William, votes received by, 193; reference to, 308; career of, 436-446; support of Cummins by, 461
Lassalle, program of, 92
Lawrence Strike, 205
Lawyers, 134
Leader, State, 183
Leaders, lack of, 147
Lease, Mrs. Mary E., 260, 262, 265, 318, 325
Lee County, 364
Leffler, Shepherd, nomination of, for Governor, 80; campaign of, 80, 81
Legal processes, expense of, 210
Legal tender, demand for repeal of, 175; reference to, 363
Legal tender notes, payment of bonds in, 170; reference to, 210, 214
Legislators, holding of, responsible, 97
Legislature, opposition to frequent sessions of, 60, 61
Lewelling, L. D., 273
Liberal Republican movement, history of, 9-48; beginnings of, 9-21; history of, in Iowa, 22-29; history of, after 1872, 30-48; effect of, 48; relation of, to economic unrest, 46-48
Liberal Republican party, organization of, 9-21; convention of, 11-17; leaders in, 14, 24; candidate and platform of, accepted by Democrats, 19, 20; campaign of, in Iowa in 1872, 22-29; accessions to, in Iowa, 27; number of votes cast by, 28, 29, 484; campaigns of, from 1872 to 1876, 30-40; union of Democrats and, 31, 32, 40; letter of Schurz relative to, 33-36, 38, 39; courses open to, 37; last campaign of, 41; gaining of objects of, 41; change of name of, 43; program of, 46; reference to, 63, 79, 100, 283
Liberals (see Liberal Republicans)
License plank, 78
Lieutenant Governor, candidates for, 172, 193, 316, 336, 356
Lincoln, Abraham, 139, 331
Lincoln (Nebraska), meeting at, 56, 61, 241, 333
Lindsay, B. B., 432
Linn County, 193
Liquor traffic, 64 (see also Prohibition)
Livingstone, Mr., 254
Lloyd, Charles A., 352
Lloyd, Henry D., 12, 18, 19, 205, 213, 284, 293; article by, 147, 204; statement by, 301, 302, 402
Lobbying, 148, 438, 465
Lobbyists, 410, 457
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 34, 35, 42, 487
Logan, John A., 159
Looking Backward, 249
Loucks, H. L., 242, 248, 254, 261, 271
Louisa County, 364
Louisiana, 133, 234, 268, 300, 485
Louisiana Farmers' Union, 229
Louisville (Kentucky), convention at, 20; reference to, 103
Louisville Courier-Journal, 14
Lucas County, 364, 437
Lyon County, 315

McCormick, Cyrus, 439
McFarland, W. M., 328
McGlynn, Edward, 207
McGovern, F. E., 429
McHenry, W. H., 353
McKeighan, Mr., 236
McKinley, William, nomination of, 286; record of, on currency question, 286; reference to, 294, 370, 382, 398, 401, 410, 452, 464; oratorical campaign of, 296, 297; cost of campaign of, 298, 299; fears of defeat of, 299; number of votes received by, 299, 300, 371, 380
McKinley Tariff Act, 237
McLean, John R., 289
Mackey, C. H., 187, 348, 356
Macune, C. W., 229, 254, 259
Macy, Jesse, statement by, 339, 340, 367
Madison County, 169, 174, 178, 189, 315
Madison (Nebraska), 272
Madison Square Garden, speech in, 295, 382
Mahaska County, reform convention in, 22; reference to, 73, 174, 178, 182, 186, 189, 191, 193, 194, 315
Mahoney, D. A., 110, 495
Maine, Mr., 324

Maine, 12, 125, 131, 132, 140, 165, 178, 192, 487; Greenback party in, 128, 129, 133, 134
Mann, Thomas E., 326
Manning, J. C., 261
Mantle, Lee, 346
Manufacturing, protection of, 227
Manufacturing monopolies, 97
Maquoketa, 505
Marion County, 174, 178, 182, 186, 189
Markets, difficulties in shipping grain to, 51, 52; control of, 227
Markley, J. E. E., 366
Marriage and divorce laws, 465
Marshall, Charles M., 12
Marshall, John, 4
Marshall County, 325, 364
Marshalltown, convention at, 158, 173, 181, 195, 196; reference to, 336, 351, 374
Martin, John, election of, 274
Marx, Karl, 92, 93
Maryland, 103, 234, 259, 262, 381, 428, 485, 500
Mason, Charles, 25
Mason City, 364
Masons, 52
Massachusetts, union of parties in, 31; reference to, 43, 45, 93, 99, 118, 120, 125, 144, 150, 186, 202, 212, 213, 248, 262, 275, 304, 428, 487, 500, 501; Labor Reform party in, 94, 95, 98, 99, 100-102; Greenbackers in, 134; career of Butler in, 151
Matthews, Mr., 161
Matthews, Stanley, 10
Meat inspection bill, 405
Mechanics, 231
Medill, Joseph, 490
Memphis (Tennessee), 87, 296
Meredith, Thomas, 355
Merriam, Charles E., 424, 471
Merritt, Mr., 161
Michigan, 43, 64, 65, 99, 106, 118, 125, 132, 144, 192, 212, 213, 232, 245, 246, 363, 368, 408, 426, 434, 487, 500; National Reform party in, 58, 59; Greenbackers in, 127, 141; Farmers' Alliance in, 242; career of Pingree in, 408-410
Middleman, effort to eliminate profits of, 52, 53; reference to, 199, 222, 253
Middle-of-the-road Populists, 292, 355, 388
Middle States, third party vote in, 268; reference to, 295
Midland Monthly, The, article in, 341-343
Militia, 340, 344
Mill, John Stuart, 395
Mills County, 315, 320
Milwaukee, 212, 433
Milwaukee County (Wisconsin), 212
Milwaukee Railroad, 340
Minimum wage, 411
Miners, 316
Mines, safety provisions in, 126
Minneapolis, 362
Minnesota, 12, 43, 51, 64, 65, 67, 112, 125, 213, 229, 237, 245, 246, 248, 250, 268, 274, 300, 312, 323, 346, 363, 400, 421, 434, 458, 473, 474, 487, 500; granges in, 52; Anti-Monopoly party in, 55, 56; Reform party in, 64; Union Labor party in, 213; Farmers' Alliance in, 242; Populist party in, 280
Minor parties, service of, 470-480; leaders in, 475-479 (see also Third parties)
Minors (see Children)
Minturn, Robert B., 12
Mississippi, 133, 234, 250, 284, 388, 389, 507
Mississippi River, 226, 293, 339
Mississippi Valley, 226; campaign of 1896 in, 294, 296
Missouri, beginning of Liberal Republican movement in, 9-11; reference to, 22, 30, 43, 47, 64, 65, 86, 87, 103, 125, 129, 131, 211, 213, 228, 234, 247, 252, 300, 381, 388, 389, 408, 417, 418, 426, 485, 487, 500; problems in, 48; Peoples' party in, 60, 61; Greenbackers in, 127, 128, 141; Union Labor party in, 213; career of Folk in, 417, 418
Missouri Pacific Railroad, 340
Missouri River, proposal for railroad to Atlantic from, 62
Mitchell, John, 400, 402
Mitchell, Thomas, announcement of, 84
Mobile (Alabama), 140
Moline, 343
Monarchial Socialism, 396
Money, need of more, 83, 84, 92, 154, 331; non-productiveness of, 96; power of government with regard to, 123;

resolutions relative to, 123; theory of fiat, 167; increase in value of, 223, 224; method of increasing amount of, 224; reference to, 257; amount of, used in campaign, 297-299; attitude of people toward question of, 301, 302 (see currency, sound money, hard money, paper money, etc.)
Money question, solution of, 106, 107
Mono-metallism, 222
Monona County, 189, 198, 315, 320
Monopolies, fostering of, 47; opposition to, 59, 62; effect of, 97; reference to, 98, 123, 137, 139, 203, 205, 208, 284, 302, 350, 455, 457, 458, 470; plan to oppose, 206, 207
Montana, 262, 286, 300, 331, 346, 381
Montgomery (Alabama), meeting at, 227
Montgomery County, 312, 315, 320
Moore, F. W., votes received by, 193
Moore, M. H., 171, 172, 176, 177
Morgan, J. P., 401
Mortgages, 84, 221, 222, 229, 368; bill for taxation of, 316
Muffly, J. W., 160, 170, 179, 324
Mugwumps, success of, 46
Mulct law, 351
Municipal government, reforms in, 412
Munroe, James, 486
Murch, Mr., 174, 178
Murray, Minnie, 362, 363
Muscatine, 87, 485
Muscatine County, 73
Mutual fire insurance companies, 88
Myers, F. W., 326

Nash, Mary E., 504
Nashua (Iowa), 362, 375
Nation, The, 12, 13, 16, 19
National banking law, 110
National banking system, demand for abolition of, 94, 138, 238
National banks, opposition to subsidies to, 47; reference to, 126, 214, 233; criticism of, 185
National Citizens' Independent Alliance, 258
National debt (see public debt)
National Democratic party, formation of, 294
National Farmers' Alliance, facts concerning, 228, 229; reference to, 246, 247, 258 (see also Northern Alliance)
National Farmers' Alliance and Co-operative Union, 229
National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, 229; facts concerning, 230, 231; membership of, 234, 235
National Farmers' Congress, facts concerning, 226-228
National Labor Congress (see Labor Congress)
National Labor Reform party (see Labor Reform party)
National Labor Union, 92, 93
National party (see Greenback party)
National Reform party, activities of, 58, 59
National Union Company, 253, 255
National Union Greenback Labor Convention, 135
National Union party, organization of, 31
Nationales, 161, 162
Nationalists, 249
Nationals (see Greenback party)
Naturalization law, 217
Nebraska, farmers' movement in, 56; Independent party in, 61, 62; reference to, 64, 87, 99, 125, 212, 213, 229, 231, 237, 245, 246, 247, 252, 274, 284, 295, 300, 304, 310, 312, 323, 342, 346, 380, 389, 415, 421, 426, 428, 437, 477, 500, 519; Farmers' Alliance in, 240, 241; senatorial contest of 1893 in, 272, 273; Populist party in, 280; career of Bryan in, 290
Negro question, 22
Negroes, betrayal of, 150
Nelson, Knute, 421
Nevada, 144, 262, 268, 274, 331, 381
New England, 35, 159, 237, 282, 399; third party vote in, 268
New Hampshire, 12, 13, 95, 96, 262, 426, 487
New Haven (Connecticut), 116
New Jersey, 99, 103, 106, 121, 125, 132, 428, 458, 487, 500
New Nationalism, 422
New Orleans, 87
New Party, 67
New Republic, The, 384
New York, 11, 14, 34, 42, 43, 84, 99, 103, 106, 121, 125, 132, 144, 210, 211, 212, 228, 239, 282, 295, 389,

401, 476, 487, 500; Liberal Republican activities in, 32, 33; differences among Liberals in, 39; labor party in, 104; Greenback party in, 116, 117, 129, 134, 141; United Labor party in, 209; Union Labor party in, 213, 214
New York Central Railroad, 473
New York City, meeting in, 13, 18, 111, 124; reference to, 36, 43, 45, 115, 140, 145, 162, 163, 253, 256, 295, 382, 477; conferences in, 37, 39, 44, 100; convention in, 116; campaign of 1886 in, 209
New York Evening Post, 16
New York Herald, 12
New York Staats-Zeitung, 39
New York Star, The, 140
New York Sun, 487
New York Tribune, 14, 159, 269
New Zealand, 402
Newbold, Joshua G., 74
Newlands, Francis G., 272
Newspapers, conspiracy of, 140; establishment of, by Greenbackers, 185, 186
Newton, meeting at, 170
Nordhoff, Mr., 34
Noonan, J. A., 109
North Carolina, 131, 231, 234, 259, 300, 487; Farmers' alliance in, 238; Populist party in, 280
North Dakota, 230, 235, 246, 268, 300, 323, 346, 363, 428; Farmers' Alliance in, 243
Northern Alliance, 229, 311; demands of, 230; platform of, 233, 234 (see also National Farmers' Alliance)
Northern Securities Case, 399, 400
Northwest, opposition to railroads in, 67
Northwestern Railroad, 340
Norton, S. F., 261, 262, 291, 292
Norwegians, 394

Oats, 221, 222
Oberlin College, 252
Ocala (Florida), meeting at, 232; platform made at, 233, 244, 245, 247, 249, 280
O'Conor, Charles, 20, 100
Odd Fellows, 52
Officers, election of federal, 59; reduction of number of, 59
Offices, abolition of, 123
Ohio, reform movement in, 10, 11; reference to, 20, 43, 45, 47, 57, 78, 99, 103, 125, 132, 133, 211, 212, 213, 246, 247, 249, 250, 262, 275, 368, 408, 432, 487; independent convention in, 30, 31; workingmen's ticket in, 104; union of parties in, 120, 121; Greenbackers in, 127; career of Jones in, 410-412; career of Johnson in, 412-414
Ohio Constitutional Convention, 427
Ohio idea, 105
Ohio River, 293
Oil inspector, 307
Olleman, E. A., 106, 109
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 19
Olney, Richard, 401
Omaha, platform made at, 247, 359; reference to, 260, 270; convention at, 261, 276, 305, 322, 323
Ontario (Canada), 498
Oregon, Independent party in, 62, 63; reference to, 64, 268, 300, 408, 418, 428, 500; Union party in, 216, 217; Populist party in, 280; career of U'Ren in, 414-416; primary election law in, 416, 417
Oregon plan, 416
Orth, Godlove S., bill introduced by, 108
Osawatomie (Kansas), 422
Osborn, Chase S., 426
Otis, John G., 248
Otis, Mr., 271, 313, 314
Ott, Edward A., 322, 324, 325, 326; nomination of, 336
Ottendorfer, Oswald, 39
Otto, Helen, acknowledgment to, ix
Ottumwa, 157, 353, 356, 366; convention at, 365
Over-production, 222
Owens, E. S., 326

Pacific Coast States, third party vote in, 269
Paddock, Algernon S., 514
Palmer, John M., 14, 232, 250, 251, 267, 329; nomination of, 294; number of votes received by, 299
Panic, 332
Paper money, issue of, 58; reference to, 110, 214, 233, 388, 498, 499; printing of burlesque, 142
Parker, Alton B., nomination of, 380,

381; popular vote for, 381; reference to, 385, 402
Parker, Joel, nomination of, 99
Parker, Mr., 20
Parsons, Frank, statement by, 302, 303
Party ties, weakening of, 76
Passenger rates, 53, 69, 121, 349, 438, 439, 440, 441
Passes, 59, 404, 438, 440, 442, 451, 463, 466
Patents, purchase of, 86
Patrons of Husbandry, 52, 69, 228, 242, 258
Patrons of Industry, 232, 258
Pattee, W. W., 344, 351
Pauperism, 96, 471
Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, 391, 424, 453, 467; debate on, 421
Peffer, William E., 236, 291, 477; career of, 251
Pell, Alfred, 12
Pelzer, Louis, v
Pendleton, George H., "Ohio idea" of, 105
Pennoyer, Governor, 217, 280
Pensacola (Florida), 265
Pensions, 349
Pennsylvania, 20, 43, 99, 103, 106, 125, 131, 132, 133, 144, 178, 211, 212, 401, 411, 432, 434, 487, 500; Labor Reform party in, 101; union of parties in, 120; Greenbackers in, 129, 130, 134, 141; Union Labor party in, 213, 214
Pennsylvania Central Railroad, 473
People, policy of appealing to, 399
People's Independent Convention, 314
People's Independent party, activities of, in California, 63, 64; reference to, 241, 245
People's party, activities of, in Missouri, 60, 61; reference to, 67, 198, 202, 215, 240, 246, 256 (see Populist party)
People's party clubs, plan for, 249, 250
People's Reform Convention, 63
Perkins, George D., 310, 325, 458; campaign of, 461-463
Permeation, policy of, 261-281; success in, 285; results of, 322
Perry, A. L., 487
Perry, Professor, 18
Phelps, Mr., 34
Philadelphia, convention at, 100, 102, 109; reference to, 204, 426
Philippines, annexation of, 380
Phillips, Wendell, 95, 102, 110, 120, 159
Pierce, Henry L., 487
Pinchot, Amos, 424
Pinchot, Gifford, 405, 432, 529
Pingree, Hazen S., career of, 408-410; reference to, 414
Pioneers, democracy of, 2
Pipe-lines, 404
Planters, economic conditions among, 225
Platforms, origin of, 2-5; reference to, 15, 19, 24, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 109, 149, 158, 188, 195, 231, 241, 247, 259, 287, 322, 324, 356, 359, 427, 430, 460, 481, 492, 526; contents of, 47, 48, 95, 96-98, 100, 101, 106, 107, 110, 112, 113, 121-124, 125-130, 137, 146-149, 181, 182, 185, 210, 214, 216, 217, 233, 234, 238, 256, 270, 288, 289, 292, 293, 308, 309, 316, 335, 348, 349, 354, 432, 433, 452, 463, 464
Plows, factories for making of, 86
Plymouth County, 315
Poindexter, Miles, 423
Poles, 103
Political issues, new kinds of, 471, 472
Politics, participation of railroads in, 440, 446, 447, 448; participation of corporations in, 456, 457, 463; gradual change in, 472
Polk, L. L., 247, 254, 257, 259, 313, 318
Polk County, farmers' convention in, 70; reference to, 84, 156, 174, 178, 315, 325, 451
Pomeroy, Marcus M., activities of, 114, 115; character of, 115, 116; reference to, 135, 136, 166, 170, 172, 173
Pools, 328
Poor, struggle between rich and, 301; attempt to array rich against, 373
Population, increase of, 199
Populism, 146, 198; climax of, in Iowa, 358-375; contribution of, 375
Populist clubs, 111
Populist party, 1, 2, 200, 215, 470, 476; origin of, 216; history of, 221-375; sources of, 221-235; formation of, 236-260; convention for formation of, 247-249; platform of, 247, 248, 292, 293, 316, 335, 349, 354; leaders of,

248, 373-375, 477; early activities of, 249-252; non-political features of, 252-260; coöperative enterprises of, 253; campaigns of, in 1892 and 1894, 261-281; national convention of, 261-264, 290-293, 322, 323, 388, 389; candidates of, 262, 263, 291, 292, 316, 336, 354, 365, 388, 389; votes cast by, 268, 269, 320, 325, 326, 336, 337, 351, 357, 454, 459, 464; effect of, in campaign of 1892, 269, 270; Senators elected by, 272, 273, 274; members of, in Congress, 274, 275, 281; activities of, in 1893, 275, 276; subscription funds of, 276; effect of industrial unrest on, 278; permeating influence of, 278; State campaign of, in 1894, 280, 281; attitude of Roosevelt toward, 284, 285; greatest victory of, 285; absorbing of Greenback party by, 305; attitude of, on prohibition issue, 306, 307; early activities of, in Iowa, 306-320; State convention of, in Iowa, 314-317, 324, 325, 335, 336, 348-351, 354, 355, 358, 359, 366, 367; campaign of, in Iowa in 1891, 317-320; name applied to members of, 319, 375; campaigns of, in Iowa in 1892 and 1893, 321-337; newspaper views of, 326-329; basis of, 345; gains of, in Iowa, 346-357; discussion of fusion of, with Democrats, 355, 356; climax of, in Iowa, 358-375; fusion of Democrats and, 358-367, 478; contributions of, to result in 1896, 371, 372

Pork, 222

Pork-packing, coöperation in, 87

Port Huron (Michigan), 36

Porter, John, 156, 161, 171

Post Office Department, 98

Postal savings banks, 129, 303

Potato Patch plan, operation of, 408, 409

Pottawattamie County, 315, 364

Potter, Howard, 12

Poverty, 98, 259

Powderly, Terence V., 248, 258, 259, 261, 272, 345, 373, 374; successor to, 334

Powers, J. H., 312

Preachers, 230

President, candidate for, 15, 19, 20, 26, 43, 44, 93, 99, 100, 105, 112, 135, 149, 208, 210, 262, 289, 294, 323, 388, 389, 431, 432; results of election of, 20, 28, 268, 269, 371, 380, 381, 385, 387, 434; popular election of, 61, 62, 126, 182, 293, 465; demand for western candidate for, 84; one term for, 100, 110, 349; nomination of Weaver for, 137, 138; campaign of Boies for nomination for, 360-363; movement for nomination of La Follette as, 392-394, 425, 426; administration of Roosevelt as, 398-407

Presidential election dispute, 124

Presidential preference primary, 425, 427, 428, 468

Press, Iowa State, viii, 158, 166, 168, 175, 178, 182, 187, 190, 191

Primary election law, 415, 416, 463; agitation for, 459, 460

Primary elections, 390, 410, 425, 427, 453, 458, 459, 466

Principles, adoption of, 5

Private-contract system, 412

Private property, exemption of, 123

Privilege (see Special privilege)

Privileged classes, 98, 123

Profit-sharing, 256

Progress and Poverty, 204, 415

Progressive Democracy, 350

Progressive Labor party, 207, 209

Progressive movement, history of, 377-469; effect of, in Wisconsin, 394-397; influence of Roosevelt's administration on, 398-407; early leaders of, 408-419; character of, 418, 419; early phases of, in Iowa, 435-469; beginnings of, in Iowa, 453, 454

Progressive party, members of, in Senate, 275; formation of, 431, 432; nomination of Roosevelt by, 432; platform of, 432, 433, 471; campaign of, 433, 434; votes cast by, 433, 434

Progressives, sketches of careers of early, 379-419; leaders of, in States, 408-419, 479; reference to, 419, 457, 460, 461; early successes of, 422; activities of, in Congress, 423, 424; meeting of, 424, 425; division among, 425, 426; movement among, in favor of Roosevelt, 426-428; coalition against, 462; influence of Cummins and Dolliver among, 468; need for union of, 479, 480

Prohibition, 81, 196, 240, 247, 256,

257, 258, 259, 275, 317, 320, 321; attitude of Greenbackers toward, 188; question of, in Iowa, 305-307
Prohibition party, 1, 2, 95, 99, 158, 299, 454, 459, 464
Prohibition plank, 196, 216
Prohibitionists, 216, 243, 256, 337
Prohibitory amendment, 186, 187, 305, 306, 308
Prosperity, effect of, 284, 380; unequal distribution of, 327; relation of railroads to, 439; reference to, 473
Protection, 110, 227, 256, 463, 464; attitude of Cummins toward, 456
Protection Protect?, Does, 12
Protective Association, 448
Proudhon, book by, 92
Public debt, opposition to repudiation of, 10; payment of, 55, 58, 61, 95, 97, 98, 128; funding of, 138, 139; reference to, 164
Public improvements, 343
Public lands, disposal of, 10, 47, 94, 96, 97, 123, 139, 149, 210; thefts of, 206; proceeds of sale of, 405; preservation of, 406
Public opinion, effect of, in coal strikes, 401
Public utilities, public ownership of, 412
Public works, construction of, 130
Pullman Company, strike of employees of, 277, 278, 360, 361
Pullman rates, regulation of, 345
Pure food bill, 405

Quarles, Joseph V., 392

Race problem, 226
Radical Republicans, 9, 10
Railroad Commission, 390; establishment of, 436, 437; lack of power of, 437
Railroad Commissioners, 309, 351, 354; agitation for increased powers of, 438, 440, 441; increased powers given to, 442; rates fixed by, 443; election of, controlled by railroads, 444
Railroad Question, The, 436, 441, 446
Railroad rates, demand for regulation of, 68; law fixing, 74, 75; right of State to regulate, 82; reference to, 349, 368, 392, 403; fixing of, in Iowa, 435-446
Railroad strikes, facts concerning, in 1877, 102-104; reference to, 121, 157; influence of, 162; settling of, in 1894, 277, 278; features of, in Iowa, 343-345
Railroads, demand for regulation of, 4, 53, 54, 55, 392, 396, 470; political activities of, 23, 447, 448; opposition to land grants to, 47; dissatisfaction with, 51, 52; opposition to, in Illinois, 53; struggle with, in California, 56, 57; pools by, 62; change of attitude toward, 67; prediction of Carpenter concerning, 71; bills for regulation of, 74; lobbying by, 75, 76; decline of agitation against, 82, 91; reference to, 97, 126, 221, 228, 238, 241, 251, 391; feeling against, 103; victory of, 104; State control of, 121; fight against, 199; government ownership of, 207, 210, 214, 233, 234, 383, 384; reclamation of land from, 214; government control of, 257, 281, 293, 384; law opposed by, 308; assessment of, for taxation, 316, 453; attitude of, toward Kelly's army, 340-342; taxation of, 390, 410, 447, 457; control of, by trust, 400; law for regulation of, 402-405; struggle with, in Iowa, 435-446; opposition of, to Cummins, 450; breaking of domination of, 453
Railway Union, American, 344
Ramsey, Dr., 180
Randall, Samuel J., 132
Randolph, Theodore F., 12, 18
Reactionaries, 424
Rebates, 130
Recall, 425, 427
Reclamation Act, 405
Reciprocity, 424, 452, 455, 456, 457, 458
Reconstruction, passing of, as issue, 41; reference to, 473
Reed Rules, 420
Referendum, 293, 349, 350, 354, 415, 425, 427
Reform, popular attitude toward, 3, 455; reference to, 21; desire for, 37; service of Populist party to, 375
Reform Conference, 256
Reform conventions, 22
Reform party, 51, 64, 67, 256, 470; success of, 55, 56

Reform Press Association, 254, 255, 258
Register, The Iowa State, viii, 83, 84, 147, 151, 154, 160, 161, 162, 163, 165, 167, 169, 170, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, 193, 314, 317, 319, 327, 331, 341, 344, 345, 348, 372, 374, 450, 454, 458
Register and Leader, The, 461
Registration law, 9
Reid, Whitelaw, 14, 269
Reinking, Mr., 177, 178
Republican Anti-Third Term Convention, 43
Republican party, 1, 6, 94, 95, 96, 99, 113, 117, 119, 454, 459, 464, 469; origin of planks in platforms of, 2; readjustments in, 5, 6; split in, 9-11, 386, 387, 420-434; movement for reform in, 10, 11; loss of majority by, 30; attitude of Liberals toward, 37, 38; denunciation of, 47; effect of Liberal movement on, 48; dominance of, 68; State convention of, 71; reduction of majority of, 73; dissatisfaction with, 76; effect of Anti-Monopoly party on, 77; gains made by, 81, 82, 336, 337; attempt to connect Weaver with, 140, 141; control of, by capitalists, 150; return of Greenbackers to, 173; relation of Butler to, 151; relation of Weaver to, 184; effect of fusion on, 192, 193; reasons for defeat of, 269, 270; cost of campaign of 1896 to, 297-299; effect of prohibition issue on, 306; recruits from, 321; effect of Weaver's nomination on, 323, 324; misrule of, 328; policy of, on currency, 330, 331, 332; place of La Follette in, 390-397; contest for nomination of, 427-430; place of Cummins in, 448-469
Republicans, attitude of, toward Adams, 17; unpopularity of Hayes with, 41; reference to, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 70, 82, 83, 108, 122, 129, 133, 134, 154, 215, 216, 217, 236, 240, 241, 243, 246, 250, 258, 268, 280, 307, 313, 315, 319, 320, 367, 371, 404, 418, 478, 479; greenbacks favored by, 105; lack of leaders among, 147; attitude of, toward coinage of silver, 159, 160; attitude of, toward Greenbackers, 175; gains made by, 178, 189, 380, 381; relations between Weaver and, 178; relation of Greenbackers to, 180; votes lost by, 182, 422, 423; effect of Greenback movement on, 183; efforts of liquor interest against, 187; defeat of, 197, 198, 221, 237, 311; relations of Populists with, 266; contest between Populists and, in Kansas, 273, 274; reaction in favor of, 275; attitude of, on currency question, 282, 286, 287; successes of, 284; campaign of education by, 294; fears of, in 1896, 299, 370; view of Populists by, 326; percentage of popular vote cast for, 387
Repudiation, opposition to, 95, 96
Resumption Act, 91, 105, 110, 151, 155
Revenue, board of management of, 97, 98
Review of Reviews, 152, 263, 273, 278, 352
Revolutions, 128
Rhode Island, 43, 262, 487
Rhodes, James Ford, 26, 104
Rich, struggle between poor and, 301; attempt to array poor against, 373
Riots, 104; suppression of, 289
Rivers, improvement of, 127, 128, 251, 343
Robb, W. H., 196, 198, 305, 313, 316, 322, 323, 324, 325, 336, 348, 353, 366, 374
Roberts, George E., Iowa Idea formulated by, 452
Rochdale plan, 87, 253, 255
Rock Island Railroad, 340
Roe, F. F., 322, 348
Roosevelt, Theodore, 143, 209, 382, 385, 390, 408, 419, 424, 457, 463, 464, 468, 469, 479, 528, 529; article by, 284, 285; campaign between Bryan and, 379; popular vote for, 381, 387, 434; choice of successor by, 384; leadership of, 385, 478, 479; conflict between Taft and, 386, 427-430; administration of, as President, 398-407; tour of West by, 422; feud between La Follette and, 426; movement for nomination of, 426-428; nomination of, 432; campaign of, 433; attempt to assassinate, 433; electoral vote for, 433, 434
Root, Elihu, 428, 429
Rorer, David, 24
Rules, Committee on, 420

Safety law, 122, 128
St. John, E., 522
St. Louis, 9, 87, 104, 214, 215, 225, 231, 245, 248, 257, 308, 374, 516; meeting at, 10, 146, 230, 249, 389; results of convention at, 38; convention at, 43, 116, 117, 135, 244, 257, 271, 358, 389, 526; platform made at, 233; agreement made at, 246, 247; conference at, 276; Kelly's army at, 339; corruption in, 417
St. Louis and San Francisco Railway, 128
St. Paul, convention at, 64, 242; meeting at, 227
Salaries, 55, 59
Salem (Oregon), convention at, 62, 63
Saloon, 257
Salter, William, 332
San Francisco, 87, 145, 338
Sanders, Mr., 318
Sands, Mahlon, 12
Sanitation, 396
Sater, Thomas J., 326
Saturday Evening Post, The (Burlington), 307, 309, 312, 334, 339, 347, 369
Savery Hotel, 461
Savings banks, 130
Schell, William P., 101
Schilling, Robert, 107, 109, 248, 249, 262, 272, 276
School books, bill for uniform, 316
School system, 120, 127, 129
Schoolhouse, meeting in, 368, 369
Schurz, Carl, 9, 12, 13, 17, 18, 30, 37, 41, 44, 83, 394; choice of, as chairman of convention, 14; speech by, 18, 19; letters by, 33-36, 38, 39, 42, 43; campaign speeches by, 45; traveling expenses of, 45; character of, 48, 489
Scott, Walter S., 316, 317, 322, 324, 326
Scott County, 27, 73, 363, 364, 375
Secret organizations, 163, 230, 231, 232, 314
Secretary of Interior, 142
Secretary of State, 167, 309, 324, 325, 351, 371
Sectional hatred, 139
Seelye, Julius H., election of, 31; reference to, 487
Senate, United States, Independents in, 51, 56, 57, 64, 65; Greenbacker in, 119; election of Allen to, 272, 273; Populists in, 274, 275, 281; predicted election of Weaver to, 328, 329; La Follette in, 390-392; railroad regulation bill in, 403, 404; Insurgent movement in, 421, 422; activities of Progressives in, 423, 424; mention of Larrabee as candidate for, 445; Cummins and Dolliver in, 467, 468
Senators, United States, popular election of, 61, 62, 126, 148, 182, 208, 217, 293, 309, 329, 348, 349, 392, 393, 416, 427, 463, 464, 465; reduction of term of, 149; reference to, 237, 308; contests in election of, 250-252, 447, 448, 449, 466, 467
Settlers, 47, 97, 214, 217
Sewall, Arthur, nomination of, 289; career of, 290; reference to, 291; electoral votes received by, 300
Seymour, vote for, in Iowa, 28, 29
Shambaugh, Benj. F., introduction by, v; acknowledgment to, ix
Shane, John, 74
Shankland, E. R., 86
Shaw, Leslie M., 450
Shay's Rebellion, 304
Sherman, Buren R., 188
Sherman, James S., death of, 433
Sherman, John, 105, 175
Sherman, L. A., 36
Sherman, Mr., 430
Sherman Act of 1890, 275
Sherman Anti-Trust Act, enforcement of, 300, 399, 528
Sherman silver law, 331, 332
Shops, child labor in, 126
Short ballot, 427
Sibley, Joseph S., 283, 289
Siebecker, Robert G., 394
Sigourney, 356
Silver, demonetization of, 121, 179, 223; coinage of, 123, 124, 159, 160, 164, 214, 217, 329, 335; remonetization of, demanded, 125; payment of bonds in, 170; need of free coinage of, 224; reference to, 228, 332, 347, 363; proposal to stop purchase of, 330 (see also Free silver)
Silver Bill, 124, 160
Silver certificates, 331
Silver-miners, 223; southern allies of, 225
Silver Purchase Act, repeal of, 275, 331, 332

Silverites, 365
Simpson, Jerry, 236, 254, 259, 318
Single Tax, 203, 244, 413, 476
Sinnett, Samuel, 155, 160, 161, 168, 169
Sioux City, meeting at, 372; reference to, 340, 364, 461; railroad strike at, 344
Sioux City Independent, 184
Sioux City Journal, viii
Sioux County, 364
Sioux Falls (South Dakota), convention at, 388
Skinner, Mr., 179
Slavery, 164
Sleeping-car companies, 404
Smith, Adam, 395
Smith, Henry, 212
Smith, Joseph W., 128, 133
Smith, Munroe, 350
Social democracy, 103
Social democrats, 103
Social discontent, expression of, 2
Social forces, 4, 5, 6, 321, 375, 419, 471, 472; operation of, 270, 276, 277
Social issues, 305
Social justice, 471
Social legislation, 396, 471, 472
Social politics, significance of campaign of 1896 in history of, 300-303; reference to, 375, 419; meaning and development of, 470-480
Socialism, 145, 171
Socialist Labor party, 136, 162, 302
Socialist party, 270, 299, 454, 459, 464
Socialists, 104, 126, 206
Soft money, support of, by Democrats, 105; reference to, 176
Soldiers, 246, 315
Solid South, 141, 266; break up of, 226
Sound money, 46; support of, by Democrats, 363-365, 366
South, 16, 141, 146, 150, 174, 255, 288, 389; attitude of, toward Greeley, 20; plan for campaign in, 34; policy of Hayes toward, 41; coöperative enterprises of, 87; activities of Greenbackers in, 132; home rule in, 164; Union Labor party in, 211, 212; origin of Populist party in, 216; reasons for rise of Populist party in, 221-226; membership of farmers' organization in, 231, 234; campaign of 1890 in, 236, 237; campaign of 1892 in, 265, 266; third party vote in, 269; Populist party in, 269, 280; Industrial Legion in, 271; attitude of, on free silver, 282, 285, 330; campaign of 1896 in, 294, 296; attitude toward currency in, 310; anti-fusion Populists in, 388; speeches of Roosevelt in, 399
South America, 234
South Carolina, 43, 144, 234, 244, 262, 323; Farmers' Alliance in, 238, 239; Populist party in, 266, 280
South Dakota, 230, 235, 246, 262, 274, 276, 286, 300, 304, 310, 312, 323, 380, 421, 428, 434, 477; Farmers' Alliance in, 241, 242; senatorial contest of 1891 in, 251, 252
Southern Alliance, 229, 231, 232, 254; platforms of, 233; plan of action of, 244; formation of, in Iowa, 313; activities of, in Iowa, 318
Southern Pacific Railroad, 281
Southerners, discriminations against, 9
Sovereign, James R., 195, 196, 313, 314, 325, 331, 344, 345, 353, 373; career of, 334
Spanish War, 379, 380
Speaker of House, contest in election of, 73, 307, 308, 445; choice of, 132; power of, 139, 384; decrease of power of, 420, 421; reference to, 448
Special privileges, 47, 301, 302, 412, 418
Specie payments, resumption of, 11, 55, 61, 62, 65, 91, 119, 123, 124, 126, 154
Speculation, 222, 238
Spooner, John C., 392
Springfield (Illinois), convention at, 54, 59; reference to, 389
Springfield Republican, 14
Stallo, John B., 14
Standard Oil Company, 147, 205
Standpatters, 419, 424, 457, 460, 461, 468; union of Democrats and, 462; defeat of, 466
Stanford, Mr., 254
Steam-roller, 429
Steckel, Amos, 353
Steffens, Lincoln, 412, 418
Sterling, Thomas, 252
Sterne, Simon, 18
Stevens, John L., 469
Stevens, Thaddeus, 105, 139
Stevenson, Adlai E., 388
Stewart, William M., 272

Stokes, Anson Phelps, 12
Stone, William M., 77, 78
Stores, operation of, by grangers, 87, 88
Street railways, fares on, 409, 413
Streeter, Alson J., nomination of, 208; reference to, 250, 507, 514
Strike Commission, 278
Strikers, 349
Strikes, facts concerning, in 1877, 102-104; reference to, 121, 124, 128, 145, 157, 204, 256, 277; influence of, 162; arbitration in, 217; effort to eliminate, 283; features of, in Iowa, 343-345; settling of, by Roosevelt, 400-402; settlement of, at Detroit, 410
Stuart, F. Q., 353
Stubbs, Daniel P., 136, 156, 157, 161, 172, 173, 177; campaign of, 158; vote received by, 158, 159
Stubbs, W. R., 426
Sub-treasuries, 107, 233
Sub-treasury bill, 238
Subsidies, opposition to, 47
Suffrage (see universal suffrage and woman suffrage)
Sumner, Charles, 13
Sumner, William G., 395, 487
Sun, The, 108
Superintendent of Public Instruction, 181, 193, 336
Supreme Court of United States, packing of, 11, 47; attack on, 289; reference to, 349, 409
Supreme Court Judge, 156, 167, 351
Supreme Court Reporter, 167, 351
Swain, Mrs. A. M., 504
Swamp land, 166

Tabor, Mr., 148
Taft, William H., 384, 422, 423, 468, 469; popular vote for, 385, 387, 434; conflict between Roosevelt and, 386, 427-430; attitude of, toward tariff bill, 421, 422; attack on, 424; electoral vote for, 433, 434
Tammany, 115, 117
Tariff, 10, 11, 15, 46, 55, 59, 61, 94, 96, 97, 149, 164, 211, 222, 225, 233, 236, 237, 238, 241, 275, 279, 302, 381, 384, 391, 421, 422, 424, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 463, 464; Iowa Idea on revision of, 452
Tariff Act of 1894, 279
Tariff Commission, 425
Taubeneck, Herman E., 248, 251, 257, 261, 270, 271, 358, 512
Tax Reformers, 207
Taxation, 59, 106, 110, 204, 214, 257, 440, 457; exemptions from, 94, 123; demand for equalization of, 96, 105; assessment of railroads for, 316, 453
Taxes, reduction of, 61
Taxpayer, The Pictorial, 12
Taylor County, 156, 174, 315
Teachers, 230
Telegraph, government ownership of, 207, 210, 214; government control of, 233, 293
Teller, Henry M., 286, 288
Temperance forces, 158
Temperance party, 95
Temperance plank, 185
Temperance question, effects of, on politics, 187, 316
Ten-hour day, 95, 96, 98
Tennessee, 144, 234, 259, 300, 388, 389, 485
Terrill, Ben, 254, 257, 260, 263
Texas, 131, 133, 144, 211, 212, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 271, 336, 388, 389, 485; Greenback vote in, 141; Populist party in, 280
Thayer, Edward H., viii, 67, 74, 78
Third parties, reasons for selection of, vii; source for study of, viii, ix; usual view of, 1; part played by, 1-6; participation of, in national elections, 142; discussion of formation of, 247, 248; percentage of votes cast by, 268, 269; members of, in Senate, 275; service of, 470-480; leaders in, 475-479 (see various parties)
Three-cent wars, 53
Thurman, Allen G., 365, 475
Tibbles, Thomas H., 389
Tilden, Samuel J., 12, 33, 38, 39, 115, 118, 153, 154, 365, 487; vote for, in Iowa, 28; effect of nomination of, 41; defeat of, 119
Tillman, Benjamin R., 239, 244, 254, 266, 272, 280, 287, 365, 370, 393, 404
Tipton, J. W., 36
Toledo (Ohio), convention at, 122-124, 160, 204; reference to, 126, 127, 414; career of Jones in, 410-412
Topeka (Kansas), convention at, 240; reference to, 274

Tornadoes, comparison of Greenbackers and, 184, 185
Towne, Charles A., nomination of, 388
Trades-unionism, 171
Trades unions, 146, 360
Tramps, 338, 340
Transportation, problems of, 46; improvement of means of, 61; reference to, 199, 257, 302; control of, 203; regulation of, 217; cost of, 222, 368, 439
Treasurer of State, 167, 177, 309
Treasury, gold reserve in, 289
Treaties, 228
Trenton (New Jersey), 113
Trevellick, Richard F., 107, 109, 112, 137
Trimble, H. H., 171; votes received by, 174
Troupe, Alexander, 107
Truck store system, 316
Trumbull, Lyman, 13, 17, 25, 283, 284, 487
Trust companies, 130
Trust legislation, 382, 383
Trusts, 208, 227, 302, 381, 392, 455, 457, 459; enforcement of law against, 399, 400
Tufts, John Q., 74
Two-cent fares, 316, 349, 466

Underground railroad, 84
Unemployed, march of army of, 338-343
Unemployment, proposals relative to question of, 342, 343
Union County, 156, 174, 189, 197, 315
Union Greenback Club Organization, 173
Union Greenback Labor party, 136
Union Labor party, 198, 207, 216, 221, 243, 246, 256, 305, 317, 476; history of, 206-216; convention of, 208; support of, 208, 209; campaigns of, 210-216; votes cast by, 211; union of Greenbackers and, 308; activities of, in Iowa, 310
Union Labor convention, 195, 196
Union Labor Industrial party, platform of, 308, 309
Union Pacific Railroad, 23, 234, 273, 281; Kelly's army on, 238
Union party, 216, 217
Union Reform Association, 258
Unita (Utah), 338
United Labor party, 207; origin of, 209; campaigns of, 209, 210; convention of, 210; platform of, 210
Universal suffrage, 93, 137, 247
Unrest, 162, 205, 271, 276, 277, 278, 332, 335; center of, 304; period of, in Iowa, 338-345
U'Ren, William S., career of, 414-416
Usury, 101, 208
Utah, 253, 286, 300, 331, 342, 363, 380, 433

Vale, Jacob G., nomination of, for Governor, 70; career of, 71; reference to, 73
Vanderbilt, W. K., 500
Vandervoort, Paul, 271
Van Hise, Charles R., 394
Van Wyck, C. H., 259, 315, 519
Vermont, 132, 212, 262, 433, 500
Vest, George G., 361, 370
Vice President, candidate for, 16, 19, 20, 99, 100, 112, 135, 138, 149, 184, 208, 210, 262, 263, 289, 292, 294, 388, 389, 432; popular election of, 61, 62, 126, 182, 293, 465
Violence, 128
Virginia, 234, 259, 300
Von Holst, Hermann, 6, 398
Voorhees, Daniel, 159

Wage-earners, universal suffrage for, 93
Wage standards, 433
Wages, regulation of, 104; reference to, 121
Wages system, opposition to, 98
Wagner, 395, 396
Waite, Davis H., 271
Wakefield, William A. T., 210
Walker, Francis A., 36
Wallace, Henry, 227
Wallace, William, 498
Wanamaker, John, 430
Wapello County, 170, 315
Warner, Adoniram J., 272, 283, 346
Warren, Fitz Henry, 24
Warren County, 73, 174, 189
Wars, raising of money for, 94, 97
Washburn, George F., 262, 271
Washington, 300, 380, 434
Washington, D. C., 52, 140, 231, 232, 245, 255, 338, 400, 401, 425; convention at, 134; meeting at, 247, 271, 272
Washington County, 73, 155

Water-power control, 406
Water-rates, improvement of, 61
Watson, Thomas E., nomination of, 292; electoral votes received by, 300; popular vote for, 300; reference to, 388, 389, 527
Watt, Mr., 439
Watterson, Henry, 14
Waukon, 461
Wayne County, 174
Ways and Means, Committee on, 421
Wealth, struggle between democracy and, 68, 301; relation of labor to, 96, 98; reference to, 284
Wealth against Commonwealth, 147
Weaver, James B., papers of, ix; statement by, 3, 4; reference to, 131, 145, 146, 149, 155, 161, 168, 169, 170, 171, 176, 180, 181, 183, 184, 186, 191, 196, 198, 202, 248, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 262, 266, 274, 283, 291, 305, 307, 309, 313, 314, 322, 325, 331, 335, 336, 348, 349, 350, 353, 354, 355, 358, 365, 366, 374, 477; nomination of, 137, 138, 188, 262, 323; campaign of, 138-141, 164-168, 178, 188, 189, 323-325; votes received by, 141, 189, 268, 325; interview with, 141; character of campaign by, 143; character and career of, 164, 165; election of, to Congress, 167, 191, 195; predictions of, 173, 174; plans for reception to, 180, 181; position of, on prohibition question, 187; speech by, 192, 193; service of, to Democrats, 193, 194; proposal of, for Senator, 197; mistake in nominating of, 264; address issued by, 265; letter of, 270; political views of, 304, 305; name applied to, 319, 375, 499; reception to, 323, 324; imaginary prayer ascribed to, 327; results of election discussed by, 327, 328; prediction concerning, 328, 329; defeat of, for Congress, 352; plan for election of, as Senator, 355; place of, in Populist party, 373; service of, 476
Weaver, J. B., Jr., 502
Webster County, 155, 168, 170, 174, 364
Weeks, A. W. C., 325, 336, 348
Welch, J. B., 168
Welch, Mr., 161
Welch, Porte C., 155, 177
Weller, Luman H., papers of, ix; reference to, 161, 176, 177, 179, 180, 188, 190, 191, 192, 195, 196, 197, 198, 305, 318, 334, 352, 375; election of, to Congress, 186, 187; name applied to, 375
Welles, Gideon, 487
Wells, David A., 12, 14, 18, 487
Werner harvester patent, 85
West, A. M., 138; nomination of, 149
West, John P., 74
West, democratic tendencies in, 2; change of sentiment in, 11; popularity of Davis in, 26; reference to, 34, 36, 129, 146, 244, 246, 255, 288; attitude of, toward Blaine, 43; economic unrest in, 46; character of Liberal Republican movement in, 46, 47; third parties in, from 1873 to 1876, 51-66; interests of, 61; need of money in, 83, 84, 154; coöperative enterprises in, 87; use of greenbacks favored in, 91, 92, 105, 175; activities of Greenbackers in, 117, 118, 141; conditions in, 122; strength of Greenback party in, 125; unpopularity of Hayes in, 160; Union Labor party in, 211, 212, 213; origin of Populist party in, 216; influence of economic forces in, 221; reasons for rise of Populist party in, 221-226; financial relations of, with East, 222, 223, 224; plan of, to boycott East, 226; membership of Farmers' Alliance in, 235; campaign of 1890 in, 236, 237; campaign of 1892 in, 265, 266; third party vote in, 269; Populist party in, 269; Industrial Legion in, 271; attitude of, on free silver, 282, 285, 330; career of Bryan in, 290; campaign of 1896 in, 294, 296; attitude toward currency in, 310; proposal for irrigation in, 339, 405; desire of unemployed to leave, 340; speeches of Roosevelt in, 399; tour of, by Roosevelt, 422; tour of La Follette in, 425; third parties in, 470
West Union, 272
West Virginia, 103, 106, 140, 234, 259, 426, 487
Western Classification, 443
Westfall, A. J., 248, 318, 322, 335, 336, 351, 373; votes received by, 310, 320; circular letter by, 314; nomination of, for Governor, 316
Weston, Kelly's army at, 338

Wheat, Morris L., 262, 314, 315, 323, 348, 349, 351, 374; name applied to, 375
Wheat, increase in production of, 199; poor yield of, 200; price of, 221; reference to, 222
Wheat-producing States, 51
Wheeler, Hiram C., number of votes received by, 320
White, Fred E., 353, 356; Boies nominated by, 361, 362
White, Horace, 12, 14, 16, 17, 36, 490
White, William Allen, 418
White House, conference at, 405
Whitney, Mr., 439
Wilcox, H. S., 170, 179
Willard, Frances E., 256, 257, 259, 512
Willett, George R., 74
Williams, M. H., 181
Williams, Samuel W., 389
Williams College, 394, 487, 501
Willits, J. F., 260, 271, 314, 322, 344
Wilson, James F., 445, 447
Wilson, Woodrow, 6, 390, 479; nomination of, 386, 431; popular vote for, 387, 434; electoral vote for, 434
Winneshiek County, 74
Winona (Minnesota), 422
Winterset, 325, 336, 459
Wisconsin, 9, 43, 51, 64, 65, 67, 68, 74, 86, 87, 112, 125, 133, 211, 212, 213, 230, 248, 262, 368, 408, 415, 418, 421, 428, 454, 458, 487, 500; Reform party in, 55, 56, 60; campaign of 1875 in, 63; Greenback vote in, 134; comparison of conditions in Iowa and, 199, 210; career of La Follette in, 390-397; progressive movement in, 394-396; relation between Progressive movement in Iowa and, 445, 446
Wisconsin, University of, relation of, to State, 394-396
Wisconsin Idea, 394, 396, 397
Wiseman, John, 155
Witmer, W. W., 328, 366
Witt, Peter, 413
Woman, first nomination of, 504
Woman suffrage, 95, 135, 136, 208, 257, 258, 259
Woman Suffragists, 216
Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 256
Women, working hours of, 95, 96, 101; wages of, 98; equal political rights for, 181; labor of, 433
Women's Alliance, 258
Women's National Suffrage Association, 135, 136
Wood, L. A., 107
Woodburn, James A., 209
Woodbury County, 315, 322, 364
Woodrow, Mrs. E. J., nomination of, 336
Wool bill, 423
Woolsey, Theodore, 35, 36
Workingmen, rights of, 95; political activities of, 103, 104, 110, 111
Workingmen's Association, 109
Workingmen's party, 65
Works, John D., 423
Worth County, 315
Wright, George G., 159
Wright, Hendrick B., 132, 137
Wyoming, 268, 300, 323, 380, 415, 426

Yale University, 395, 487
Yankton College, 252
Young, Lafayette, 74
Young, Mr., number of votes cast for, 28

Zion, coöperative stores in, 253

Date Due

AP 17 '63			
FE 28 '64			
MY 27 '67			
RETURNED SE 29 '72			
JAN - 3 1973			
OCT 05 1988	OCT 01 1988		
OCT 31 1988	OCT 31 1988		
NOV 28 1988	NOV 14 1988		
DEC 08 1988	NOV 29 1988		
DEC 01 1992	DEC 1 1992		
JAN [illegible]	JAN 24 '96		

WITHDRAWN FROM
OHIO NORTHERN
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

HETERICK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
324.273 H424t
Haynes, Frederick E/Third party movement
onuu
3 5111 00073 6110

7086

OCLC

Heterick Memorial Library
Ohio Northern University
Ada, Ohio 45810